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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

PRINCIPAL of the University of EDINBURGH, and HISTO-
RIOGRAPHER to his MAJESTY for SCOTLAND.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. IV.

BASIL:

PRINTED FOR J. L. LEGRAND.

MDCCLXXXIX.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
RELIGION

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

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FRANCIS & JOHN JOHNSON, STATIONERS, AND PRINTERS,
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THE
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BOOK X.

WHILE Charles laboured, with such unwearied industry, to overcome the obstinacy of the Protestants, the effects of his steadiness in the execution of his plan were rendered less considerable by his rupture with the Pope, which daily increased. The firm resolution which the Emperor seemed to have taken against restoring Placentia, together with his repeated encroachments on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not only by the regulations contained in the Interim, but by his attempt to re-assemble a council at Trent, exasperated

1549.

The Pope's
schemes
against the
Emperor.

VOL. IV.

B

BOOK X. Paul to the utmost, who, with the weakness
 1549. incident to old age, grew more attached to his family, and more jealous of his authority, as he advanced in years. Pushed on by these passions, he made new efforts to draw the French King into an alliance against the Emperor¹; But finding that Monarch, notwithstanding his hereditary enmity to Charles, and dread of his growing power, as unwilling as formerly to involve himself in immediate hostilities, he was obliged to contract his views, and to think of preventing future encroachments, since it was not in his power to inflict vengeance an account of those which were past. For this purpose, he determined to recall his grant of Parma and Placentia, and after declaring them to be re-annexed to the Holy See, to indemnify his grandson Octavio by a new establishment in the ecclesiastical state. By this expedient, he hoped to gain two points of no small consequence. He, first of all, rendered his possession of Parma more secure; as the Emperor would be cautious of invading the patrimony of the church, though he might seize without scruple a town belonging to the house of Farnese. In the next place, he would acquire a better chance of recovering Placentia, as his solicitations to that effect might decently be urged with greater importunity, and would infallibly be attended with

¹ Mém. de Ribier, ii. 230.

more weight, when he was considered not as pleading the cause of his own family, but as an advocate for the interest of the church. But while Paul was priding himself in this device, as a happy refinement in policy, Octavio, an ambitious and high-spirited young man, who could not bear with patience to be spoiled of one half of his territories by the rapaciousness of his father-in-law, and to be deprived of the other by the artifices of his grandfather, took measures in order to prevent the execution of a plan fatal to his interest. He set out secretly from Rome, and having first endeavoured to surprize Parma, which attempt was frustrated by the fidelity of the governor to whom the Pope had entrusted the defence of the town, he made overtures to the Emperor, of renouncing all connexion with the Pope, and of depending entirely on him for his future fortune. This unexpected defection of one of the Pope's own family to an enemy whom he hated, irritated, almost to madness, a mind peevish with old age; and there was no degree of severity to which Paul might not have proceeded against a grandson whom he reproached as an unnatural apostate. But happily for Octavio, death prevented his carrying into execution the harsh resolutions which he had taken with respect to him, and put an end to his pontificate in the

BOOK X.

1549.

BOOK X. sixteenth year of his administration, and the
1549. eighty-second of his age².

² Among many instances of the credulity or weakness of historians in attributing the death of illustrious personages to extraordinary causes, this is one. Almost all the historians of the sixteenth century affirm, that the death of Paul III. was occasioned by the violent passions which the behaviour of his grandson excited; that being informed, while he was refreshing himself in one of his gardens near Rome, of Octavio's attempt on Parma, as well as of his negotiations with the Emperor by means of Gonzaga, he fainted away, continued some hours in a swoon, then became feverish, and died within three days. This is the account given of it by Thuanus, lib. vi. 211. *Adriani Istor. de' suoi tempi*, lib. vii. 480. and by Father Paul, 280. Even cardinal Pallavicini, better informed than any writer with regard to the events which happened in the papal court, and when not warped by prejudice or system, more accurate in relating them, agrees with their narrative in its chief circumstances. *Pallav. b. ii. 74.* Paruta, who wrote his history by command of the senate of Venice, relates it in the same manner. *Historici Venez. vol. iv. 212.* But there was no occasion to search for any extraordinary cause to account for the death of an old man of eighty-two. There remains an authentick account of this event, in which we find none of those marvellous circumstances of which the historians are so fond. The cardinal of Ferrara, who was entrusted with the affairs of France at the court of Rome, and M. D'Urfé, Henry's ambassador in ordinary there, wrote an account to that Monarch of the affair of Parma, and of the Pope's death. By these it appears, that Octavio's attempt to surprize, Parma, was made on the twentieth of October; that next day in the evening, and not while he was airing himself in the gardens of Monte-Cavallo, the Pope received intelligence of what he had done;

As this event had been long expected, there was an extraordinary concourse of Cardinals at Rome; and the various competitors having had time to form their parties, and to concert their measures, their ambition and intrigues protracted the conclave to a great length. The Imperial and French factions strove, with emu-

BOOK X.
1550.

that he was seized with such a transport of passion, and cried so bitterly, that his voice was heard in several apartments of the palace; that next day, however, he was so well as to give an audience to the cardinal of Ferrara, and to go through business of different kinds; that Octavio wrote a letter to the Pope, not to cardinal Farnese his brother, intimating his resolution of throwing himself into the arms of the Emperor; that the Pope received this on the twenty-first without any new symptoms of emotion, and returned an answer to it; that on the twenty-second of October the day on which the cardinal of Ferrara's letter is dated, the Pope was in his usual state of health. *Mém. de Ribier*, ii. 247. By a letter of M. D'Urfé, Nov. 5. it appears that the Pope was in such good health, that on the third of that month he had celebrated the anniversary of his coronation with the usual solemnities. *Ibidem*, 251. By another letter from the same person, we learn, that on the sixth of November a catarrh or defluxion fell down on the Pope's lungs, with such dangerous symptoms, that his life was immediately despaired of, *Ibid.* 252. And by a third letter, we are informed, that he died November the tenth. In none of these letters is his death imputed to any extraordinary cause. It appears, that more than twenty days elapsed between Octavio's attempt on Parma, and the death of his grandfather, and that the disease was the natural effect of old age, not one of those occasioned by violence of passion.

BOOK X. lation, to promote one of their own number,
 1550. and had, by turns, the prospect of success. But
 as Paul during a long Pontificate had raised
 many to the purple, and those chiefly persons
 of eminent abilities, as well as zealously devoted
 to his family, Cardinal Farnese had the com-
 Feb. 7th. mand of a powerful and united squadron, by
 The elec- whose address and firmness he exalted to the
 tion of papal throne the Cardinal di Monte, whom
 Julius III. Paul had employed as his principal legate in
 the council of Trent, and trusted with his most
 secret intentions. He assumed the name of
 Julius III. and, in order to express his gratitude
 towards his benefactor, the first act of his ad-
 ministration was to put Octavio Farnese in pos-
 session of Parma. When he was told of the
 injury which he did to the Holy See by alienat-
 ing a territory of such value, he briskly replied,
 "That he would rather be a poor Pope, with
 the reputation of a gentleman, than a rich one,
 with the infamy of having forgotten the obli-
 gations conferred upon him, and the promises
 which he had made³." But all the lustre of this
 candour or generosity he quickly effaced by an
 action most shockingly indecent. According
 His charac- to an ancient and established practice, every
 ter and con- Pope upon his election claims the privilege of
 duct. bestowing, on whom he pleases, the Cardinal's

³ Mém. de Ribier.

hat, which falls to be disposed of by his being Book X.
invested with the triple crown. Julius, to the 1550.
astonishment of the sacred college, conferred
this mark of distinction, together with ample
ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of bear-
ing his name and arms, upon one Innocent, a
youth of sixteen, born of obscure parents, and
known by the name of the Ape, from his having
been trusted with the care of an animal of that
species, in the Cardinal di Monte's family.
Such a prostitution of the highest dignity in the
church would have given offence, even in those
dark periods, when the credulous superstition
of the people emboldened ecclesiasticks to ven-
ture on the most flagrant violations of decorum.
But in an enlightened age, when, by the pro-
gress of knowledge and philosophy, the obli-
gations of duty and decency were better under-
stood, when a blind veneration for the Pontifical
character was every-where abated, and one half
of Christendom in open rebellion against the
Papal See, this action was viewed with horror.
Rome was immediately filled with libels and
pasquinades, which imputed the Pope's extra-
vagant regard for such an unworthy object to
the most criminal passions. The Protestants
exclaimed against the absurdity of supposing
that the infallible spirit of divine truth could
dwell in a breast so impure, and called more

BOOK X. 1550. loudly than ever, and with greater appearance of justice, for the immediate and thorough reformation of a church, the Head of which was a disgrace to the Christian name⁴. The rest of the Pope's conduct was of a piece with this first specimen of his dispositions. Having now reached the summit of ecclesiastical ambition, he seemed eager to indemnify himself, by an unrestrained indulgence of his desires, for the self-denial or dissimulation which he had thought it prudent to practise while in a subordinate station. He became careless, to so great a degree, of all serious business, that he could seldom be brought to attend to it, but in cases of extreme necessity; and giving up himself to amusements and dissipation of every kind, he imitated the luxurious elegance of Leo, rather than the severe virtue of Adrian, the latter of which it was necessary to display, in contending with a sect which derived great credit from the rigid and austere manners of its teachers⁵.

His views
and proceed-
ings with
respect to
the general
council.

THE Pope, how ready soever to fulfil his engagements to the family of Farnese, discovered no inclination to observe the oath, which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice should fall on him, he

⁴ Sleid. 492. F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 76. Thuan. lib. vi. 215.

⁵ F. Paul, *ibid*.

would immediately call the council to re-assume its deliberations. Julius knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine such a body of men within the narrow limits which it was the interest of the church of Rome to prescribe; and how easily the zeal of some members, the rashness of others, or the suggestions of the Princes on whom they depended, might precipitate a popular and ungovernable assembly into forbidden inquiries, as well as dangerous decisions. He wished, for these reasons, to have eluded the obligation of his oath, and gave an ambiguous answer to the first proposals which were made to him by the Emperor, with regard to that matter. But Charles, either from his natural obstinacy in adhering to the measures which he had once adopted, or from the mere pride of accomplishing what was held to be almost impossible, persisted obstinately in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church. Having persuaded himself, that the authoritative decisions of the council might be employed with efficacy in combating their prejudices, he, in consequence of that persuasion, continued to solicit earnestly that a new bull of convocation might be issued; and the Pope could not, with decency, reject that request. When Julius found that he could not prevent the calling of a council, he endea-

BOOK X.

1550.

BOOK X. 1550. voured to take all the merit of having procured the meeting of an assembly, which was the object of such general desire and expectation. A congregation of Cardinals, to whom he referred the consideration of what was necessary for restoring peace to the church, recommended, by his direction, the speedy convocation of a council, as the most effectual expedient for that purpose; and as the new heresies raged with the greatest violence in Germany, they proposed Trent as the place of its meeting, that, by a near inspection of the evil, the remedy might be applied with greater discernment and certainty of success. The Pope warmly approved of this advice, which he himself had dictated, and sent nuncios to the Imperial and French courts, in order to make known his intentions *.

A diet at
Augsburgh to
enforce the
Interim.

June 25.

ABOUT this time, the Emperor had summoned a new diet to meet at Augsburgh, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentick act of the Empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. He appeared there in person, together with his son the Prince of Spain. Few of the Electors were present, but all sent deputies in their name. Charles, notwithstanding the def-

* F. Paul, 281. Pallav. ii. 77.

potick authority with which he had given law in the Empire during two years, knew that the spirit of independence among the Germans was not entirely subdued, and for that reason took care to over-awe the diet by a considerable body of Spanish troops which escorted him thither. The first point, submitted to the consideration of the diet, was the necessity of holding a council. All the Popish members agreed, without difficulty, that the meeting of that assembly should be renewed at Trent, and promised an implicit acquiescence in its decrees. The Protestants, intimidated and disunited, must have followed their example, and the resolution of the diet would have proved unanimous, if Maurice of Saxony had not begun at this time to disclose new intentions, and to act a part very different from that which he had so long assumed.

By an artful dissimulation of his own sentiments; by address in paying court to the Emperor; and by the seeming zeal with which he forwarded all his ambitious schemes, Maurice had raised himself to the electoral dignity; and having added the dominions of the elder branch of the Saxon family to his own, he was become the most powerful Prince in Germany. But his long and intimate union with the Emperor, had afforded him many opportunities of observing narrowly the dangerous tendency of his

Book X.

1550.

Maurice begins to form designs against the Emperor.

BOOK X. schemes. He saw the yoke that was preparing
 1550. for his country; and from the rapid as well as formidable progress of the Imperial power, was convinced that but a few steps more remained to be taken, in order to render Charles as absolute a Monarch in Germany as he had become in Spain. The more eminent the condition was to which he himself had been exalted, the more solicitous did he naturally become to maintain all its rights and privileges, and the more did he dread the thoughts of descending from the rank of a Prince almost independent, to that of a vassal subject to the will of a master. At the same time, he perceived that Charles was bent on exacting a rigid conformity to the doctrines and rites of the Romish church, instead of allowing liberty of conscience, the promise of which had allured several Protestant Princes to assist him in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde. As he himself, notwithstanding all the compliances which he had made from motives of interest, or an excess of confidence in the Emperor, was sincerely attached to the Lutheran tenets, he determined not to be a tame spectator of the overthrow of a system which he believed to be founded in truth.

The Political motives which influenced him.

THIS resolution, flowing from the love of liberty, or zeal for religion, was strengthened by political and interested considerations. In

that elevated station, in which Maurice was now placed, new and more extensive prospects opened to his view. His rank and power entitled him to be the head of the Protestants in the Empire. His predecessor, the degraded Elector, with inferior abilities, and territories less considerable, had acquired such an ascendant over the councils of the party; and Maurice neither wanted discernment to see the advantage of this pre-eminence, nor ambition to aim at attaining it. But he found himself in a situation which rendered the attempt no less difficult, than the object of it was important. On the one hand, the connexion which he had formed with the Emperor was so intimate, that he could scarcely hope to take any step which tended to dissolve it, without alarming his jealousy, and drawing on himself the whole weight of that power, which had crushed the greatest confederacy ever formed in Germany. On the other hand, the calamities which he had brought on the Protestant party were so recent, as well as great, that it seemed almost impossible to regain their confidence, or to rally and re-animate a body of men, after himself had been the chief instrument in breaking their union and vigour. These considerations were sufficient to have discouraged any person of a spirit less adventurous than Maurice's. But to him the grandeur and vastness of the enterprize were allurements; and he boldly

BOOK X.

1550.

BOOK X. resolved on measures, the idea of which a genius
 1550. of an inferior order could not have conceived, or would have trembled at the thoughts of the danger that attended the execution of them.

The passions
 which co-
 operated
 with these.

HIS passions concurred with his interest in confirming this resolution; and the resentment excited by an injury, which he sensibly felt, added new force to the motives for opposing the Emperor, which sound policy suggested. Maurice, by his authority, had prevailed on the Landgrave of Hesse to put his person in the Emperor's power, and had obtained a promise from the Imperial ministers that he should not be detained a prisoner. This had been violated in the manner already related. The unhappy Landgrave exclaimed as loudly against his son-in-law as against Charles. The Princes of Hesse required Maurice incessantly to fulfil his engagements to their father, who had lost his liberty by trusting to him; and all Germany suspected him of having betrayed, to an implacable enemy, the friend whom he was most bound to protect. Roused by these sollicitations or reproaches, as well as prompted by duty and affection to his father-in-law, Maurice had employed not only entreaties but remonstrances in order to procure his release. All these Charles had disregarded; and the shame of having been first deceived, and then slighted, by a Prince whom he had

served with zeal as well as success, which merited Book X.
 a very different return, made such a deep impres- 1550.
 sion on Maurice, that he waited with impatience
 for an opportunity of being revenged.

THE utmost caution as well as delicacy were The caution
 requisite in taking every step towards this end; and address
 as he had to guard, on the one hand, against with which
 giving a premature alarm to the Emperor; he carries
 while, on the other, something considerable and on his
 explicit was necessary to be done, in order to schemes.
 regain the confidence of the Protestant party.
 Maurice had accordingly applied all his powers
 of address and dissimulation to attain both these
 points. As he knew Charles to be inflexible
 with regard to the submission which he required
 to the Interim, he did not hesitate one moment
 whether he should establish that form of doc-
 trine and worship in his dominions: But being
 sensible how odious it was to his subjects, instead
 of violently imposing it on them by the mere
 terror of authority, as had been done in other
 parts of Germany, he endeavoured to render
 their obedience a voluntary deed of their own.
 For this purpose, he had assembled the clergy He enforces
 of his country at Leipstick, and had laid the the Interim
 Interim before them, together with the reasons in Saxony.
 which made it necessary to conform to it. He

BOOK X. had gained some of them by promises, others
1550. he had wrought upon by threats, and all were
intimidated by the rigour with which obedience
to the Interim was extorted in the neighbouring
provinces. Even Melancthon, whose merit of
every kind entitled him to the first place among
the Protestant divines, being now deprived of
the manly counsels of Luther, which were wont
to inspire him with fortitude, and to preserve
him steady amidst the storms and dangers that
threatened the church, was seduced into unwar-
rantable concessions, by the timidity of his tem-
per, his fond desire of peace, and his excessive
complaisance towards persons of high rank. By
his arguments and authority, no less than by
Maurice's arts, the assembly was prevailed on to
declare, that, in points which were purely indif-
ferent, obedience was due to the commands of
a lawful superior. Founding upon this maxim,
no less uncontrovertible in theory, than danger-
ous when carried into practice, especially in reli-
gious matters, they proceeded to class, among
the number of things indifferent, several doc-
trines, which Luther had pointed out as gross
and pernicious errors in the Romish creed; and
placing in the same rank many of those rites
which distinguished the Reformed from the
Popish worship, they exhorted their people to
comply

comply with the Emperor's injunctions concerning these particulars⁷. BOOK X.
1550.

By this dexterous conduct, the introduction of the Interim excited none of those violent convulsions in Saxony, which it occasioned in other provinces. But though the Saxons submitted, the more zealous Lutherans exclaimed against Melancthon and his associates, as false brethren, who were either so wicked as to apostatize from the truth altogether; or so artful as to betray it by subtle distinctions; or so feeble-spirited as to give it up from pusillanimity and criminal complaisance to a Prince, capable of sacrificing to his political interest that which he himself regarded as most sacred. Maurice, being conscious what a colour of probability his past conduct gave to those accusations, as well as afraid of losing entirely the confidence of the Protestants, issued a declaration containing professions of his zealous attachment to the Reformed religion, and to his resolution to guard against all the errors or encroachments of the papal see⁸. Makes professions of zeal for the Protestant religion.

HAVING gone so far in order to remove the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, he found At the same time courts the Emperor.

⁷ Sleid. 481. 485. Jo. Laur. Mosheimii Institutionum Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, lib. iv. Helmst. 1755, 4to. p. 748. Jo. And. Schmidii Historia Interimistica, p. 70, &c. Helmst. 1730. ⁸ Sleid. 485.

BOOK X. 1550. it necessary to efface the impresson which such a declaration might make on the Emperor. For that purpose, he not only renewed his profession of an inviolable adherence to his alliance with him, but as the city of Magdeburgh still persisted in rejecting the Interim, he undertook to reduce it to obedience, and instantly set about levying troops to be employed in that service. This damped all the hopes which the Protestants began to conceive of Maurice, in consequence of his declaration, and left them more than ever at a loss to guess at his real intentions. Their former suspicions and distrust of him revived, and the divines of Magdeburgh filled Germany with writings in which they represented him as the most formidable enemy of the Protestant religion, who treacherously assumed an appearance of zeal for its interest, that he might more effectually execute his schemes for its destruction.

Protests
against the
mode of pro-
ceeding in
the council.

THIS charge, supported by the evidence of recent facts, as well as by his present dubious conduct, gained such universal credit, that Maurice was obliged to take a vigorous step in his own vindication. As soon as the re-assembling of the council at Trent was proposed in the diet, his ambassadors protested that their master would not acknowledge its authority,

unless all the points which had been already decided there were reviewed, and considered as entire; unless the Protestant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a decisive voice in the council; and unless the Pope renounced his pretensions to preside in the council, engaged to submit to its decrees, and absolved the bishops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their sentiments with greater freedom. These demands, which were higher than any that the Reformers had ventured to make, even when the zeal of their party was warmest, or their affairs most prosperous, counterbalanced, in some degree, the impression which Maurice's preparations against Magdeburgh had made upon the minds of the Protestants, and kept them in suspense with regard to his designs. At the same time, he had address enough to represent this part of his conduct in such a light to the Emperor, that it gave him no offence, and occasioned no interruption of the strict confidence which subsisted between them. What the pretexts were which he employed in order to give such a bold declaration an innocent appearance, the contemporary historians have not explained; that they imposed upon Charles is certain, for he still continued not only to prosecute his plan as well concerning the Interim as the council, with the

BOOK X. same ardour, but to place the same confidence in
1550. Maurice, with regard to the execution of both.

The diet re-
solve to
make war
on the city
of Magde-
burgh.

THE Pope's resolution concerning the council not being yet known at Augsburgh, the chief business of the diet was to enforce the observation of the Interim. As the senate of Magdeburgh, notwithstanding various endeavours to frighten or to soothe them into compliance, not only persevered obstinately in their opposition to the Interim, but began to strengthen the fortifications of their city, and to levy troops in their own defence, Charles required the diet to assist him in quelling this audacious rebellion against a decree of the Empire. Had the members of the diet been left to act agreeably to their own inclination, this demand would have been rejected without hesitation. All the Germans who favoured, in any degree, the new opinions in religion, and many who were influenced by no other consideration than jealousy of the Emperor's growing power, regarded this effort of the citizens of Magdeburgh, as a noble stand for the liberties of their country. Even such as had not resolution to exert the same spirit, admired the gallantry of their enterprise, and wished it success. But the presence of the Spanish troops, together with the dread of the Emperor's displeasure, over-awed the

members of the diet to such a degree, that without venturing to utter their own sentiments, they tamely ratified, by their votes, whatever the Emperor was pleased to prescribe. The rigorous decrees, which Charles had issued by his own authority against the Magdeburghers, were confirmed; a resolution was taken to raise troops in order to besiege the city in form; and persons were named to fix the contingent in men or money to be furnished by each state. At the same time, the diet petitioned that Maurice might be entrusted with the command of that army, to which Charles gave his consent with great alacrity, and with high encomiums upon the wisdom of the choice which they had made⁹. As Maurice conducted all his schemes with profound and impenetrable secrecy, it is probable that he took no step avowedly in order to obtain this charge. The recommendation of his countrymen was either purely accidental, or flowed from the opinion generally entertained of his great abilities; and neither the diet had any foresight, nor the Emperor any dread of the consequences which followed upon this nomination. Maurice accepted without hesitation the trust committed to him, instantly discerning the important advantages which he might derive from it.

Book X.
1550.

Appoint
Maurice
general.

⁹ Sleid. 503. 512.

BOOK X.

1550.

The council summoned to re-assembly at Trent.
December.

MEANWHILE, Julius, in preparing the bull for the convocation of the council, observed all those tedious forms which the court of Rome can employ, with wonderful dexterity, to retard any disagreeable measure. At last it was published, and the council summoned to meet at Trent on the first day of the ensuing month of May. As he knew that many of the Germans rejected or disputed the authority and jurisdiction which the papal see claims with respect to general councils, he took care, in the preamble of the bull, to assert, in the strongest terms, his own right, not only to call and preside in that assembly, but to direct its proceedings; nor would he soften these expressions, in any degree, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of the Emperor, who foresaw what offence they would give, and what construction might be put on them. They were censured, accordingly with great severity, by several members of the diet; but whatever disgust or suspicion they excited, such absolute direction of all their deliberations had the Emperor acquired; that he procured a recess in which the authority of the council was recognised, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which at that time afflicted the church; all the Princes and states of the Empire, such as had made innovations in religion, as well as those who adhered

1551.

Feb. 13.

to the system of their forefathers, were required to send their representatives to the council; the Emperor engaged to grant a safe-conduct to such as demanded it, and to secure them an impartial hearing in the council; he promised to fix his residence in some city of the Empire, in the neighbourhood of Trent, that he might protect the members of the council by his presence, and take care that, by conducting their deliberations agreeably to scripture and the doctrine of the fathers, they might bring them to a desirable issue. In this recess, the observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever; and the Emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected or refused to conform to it, with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they persisted in their disobedience ¹⁰.

BOOK X.
1551.

DURING the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made in order to procure liberty to the Landgrave. That Prince, no-wise reconciled by time to his situation, grew every day more impatient of restraint. Having often applied to Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, who took every occasion of soliciting the Emperor in his behalf, though without any effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform what

Another
fruitless at-
tempt to
procure the
Landgrave
liberty.

¹⁰ Sleid. 512. Thuan. lib. vi. 233. Goldasti Constit. Imperiales, vol. ii. 340.

BOOK X.

1551.

was contained in the bond which they had granted him, by surrendering themselves to be treated with the same rigour as the Emperor had used him. This furnished them with a fresh pretext for renewing their application to the Emperor, together with an additional argument to enforce it. Charles firmly resolved not to grant their request; though at the same time being extremely desirous to get rid of their incessant importunity, he endeavoured to prevail on the Landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from the two Electors. But that Prince refusing to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, the Emperor boldly cut the knot which he could not untie; and by a publick deed annulled the bond which Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg had granted, absolving them from all their engagements to the Landgrave. No pretensions to a power so pernicious to society as that of abrogating at pleasure the most sacred laws of honour, and most formal obligations of publick faith, had hitherto been formed by any but the Roman Pontiffs, who, in consequence of their claim of infallibility, arrogate the right of dispensing with precepts and duties of every kind. All Germany was filled with astonishment, when Charles assumed the same prerogative. The state of subjection, to which the Empire was reduced, appeared to be more

rigorous as well as intolerable than that of the most wretched and enslaved nations, if the Emperor by an arbitrary decree might cancel those solemn contracts, which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in social union. The Landgrave himself now gave up all hopes of recovering his liberty by the Emperor's consent, and endeavoured to procure it by his own address. But the plan which he had formed to deceive his guards being discovered, such of his attendants as he had gained to favour his escape were put to death, and he was confined in the citadel of Mechlin more closely than ever¹¹.

BOOK X.
1551.

ANOTHER transaction was carried on during this diet, with respect to an affair more nearly interesting to the Emperor, and which occasioned likewise a general alarm among the Princes of the Empire. Charles, though formed with talents which fitted him for conceiving and conducting great designs, was not capable, as has been often observed, of bearing extraordinary success. Its operation on his mind was so violent and intoxicating, that it elevated him beyond what was moderate or attainable, and turned his whole attention to the pursuit of vast but chimerical objects. Such had been the effect of his victory over the confederates of

Charles's
plan of pro-
curing the
Imperial
crown for
his son
Philip.

¹¹ Sleid. 504. Thuan. l. vi. 234, 235.

BOOK X. Smalkalde. He did not long rest satisfied with
1551. the substantial and certain advantages which
were the result of that event, but despising these,
as poor or inconsiderable fruits of such great
success, he had aimed at bringing all Germany
to an uniformity in religion, and at rendering
the Imperial power despotick. These were ob-
jects extremely splendid, indeed, and alluring
to an ambitious mind; the pursuit in them,
however, was attended with manifest danger,
and the attainment of them very precarious.
But the steps which he had already taken to-
wards them, having been accompanied with such
success, his imagination, warmed with contem-
plating this vast design, overlooked or despised
all remaining difficulties. As he conceived the
execution of his plan to be certain, he began to
be solicitous how he might render the possession
of such an important acquisition perpetual in
his family, by transmitting the German Empire,
as well as the kingdoms of Spain, and his do-
minions in Italy and the Low Countries, to
his son. Having long revolved this flattering
idea in his mind, without communicating it,
even to those ministers whom he most trusted,
he had called Philip out of Spain, in hopes that
his presence would facilitate the carrying for-
ward the scheme.

GREAT obstacles, however, and such as BOOK X.
would have deterred any ambition less accus- 1551.
tomed to overcome difficulties, were to be sur- The obsta-
mounted. He had in the year one thousand cles that
five hundred and thirty imprudently assisted in stood in its
procuring his brother Ferdinand the dignity of way.
King of the Romans, and there was no proba-
bility that this Prince, who was still in the
prime of life, and had a son grown up to the
years of manhood, would relinquish, in favour
of his nephew, the near prospect of the Im-
perial throne, which Charles's infirmities and
declining state of health opened to himself.
This did not deter the Emperor from venturing
to make the proposition; and when Ferdinand,
notwithstanding his profound reverence for his
brother, and obsequious submission to his will
in other instances, rejected it in a peremptory
tone, he was not discouraged by one repulse.
He renewed his applications to him by his
sister, Mary Queen of Hungary, to whom Fer-
dinand stood indebted for the crowns both of
Hungaria and Bohemia, and who, by her great
abilities, tempered with extreme gentleness of
disposition, had acquired an extraordinary in-
fluence over both the brothers. She entered
warmly into a measure, which tended so mani-
festly to aggrandize the house of Austria; and
flattering herself that she could tempt Ferdinand

BOOK X. to renounce the reverfionary poffeffion of the
 1551. Imperial dignity for an immediate eftablifh-
 ment, ſhe affured him that the Emperor, by
 way of compenfation for his giving up his
 chance of fucceffion, would instantly beftow
 upon him territories of very confiderable value,
 and pointed out in particular thofe of the
 Duke of Wurtemberg, which might be con-
 fifted upon different pretexts. But neither
 by her addrefs nor intreaties, could ſhe induce
 Ferdinand to approve of a plan, which would
 have degraded him from the higheft rank
 among the Monarchs of Europe to that of a
 fubordinate and dependent Prince. He was, at
 the fame time, more attached to his children,
 than by a rafh conceffion to frustrate all the
 high hopes in profpect of which they had been
 educated.

His endea-
 vours to fur-
 mount
 thefe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the immovable firmnefs
 which Ferdinand difcovered, the Emperor did
 not abandon his fcheme. He flattered himfelf
 that he might attain the object in view by ano-
 ther channel, and that it was not impoffible to
 prevail on the Electors to cancel their former
 choice of Ferdinand, or at leaft to elect Philip
 a fecond King of the Romans, fubftituting him
 as next in fucceffion to his uncle. With this
 view he took Philip along with him to the diet,

that the Germans might have an opportunity to observe and become acquainted with the Prince, in behalf of whom he courted their interest; and he himself employed all the arts of address or insinuation to gain the Electors, and to prepare them for lending a favourable ear to the proposal. But no sooner did he venture upon mentioning it to them, than they, at once, saw and trembled at the consequences with which it would be attended. They had long felt all the inconveniences of having placed at the head of the Empire a Prince whose power and dominions were so extensive; if they should now repeat the folly and continue the Imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they foresaw that they would give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression, which the father had begun; and would put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabrick of the German constitution. Book X.
1551.

THE character of the Prince, in whose favour this extraordinary proposition was made, rendered it still less agreeable. Philip, though possessed with an insatiable desire of power, was a stranger to all the arts of conciliating good-will. Haughty, reserved, and severe, he, instead of gaining new friends, disgusted the ancient and Philip's
character
disagreeable
to the Ger-
mans.

BOOK X. most devoted partizans of the Austrian interest.

1551. He scorned to take the trouble of acquiring the language of the country to the government of which he aspired; nor would he condescend to pay the Germans the compliment of accommodating himself, during his residence among them, to their manners and customs. He allowed the Electors and most illustrious Princes in Germany, to remain in his presence uncovered, affecting a stately and distant demeanour, which the greatest of the German Emperors, and even Charles himself, amidst the pride of power and victory, had never assumed¹². On the other hand, Ferdinand, from the time of his arrival in Germany, had studied to render himself acceptable to the people, by a conformity to their manners, which seemed to flow from choice; and his son Maximilian, who was born in Germany, possessed, in an eminent degree, such amiable qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen, and induced them to look forward to his election as a most desirable event. Their esteem and affection for him, fortified the resolution which sound policy had suggested; and determined the Germans to prefer the popular virtues of Ferdinand and his son, to the stubborn austerity of Philip, which interest could not soften, nor

¹² Fredman Andreae Zulich Dissertatio politico-historica de Nævis politicis Caroli V. Lipf. 1706. 4to. p. 21.

ambition teach him to disguise. All the Elec- Book X.
 tors, the ecclesiastical as well as secular, con- 1551.
 curred in expressing such strong disapprobation Charles
 of the measure, that Charles, notwithstanding obliged to
 the reluctance with which he gave up any point, relinquish
 was obliged to drop the scheme as impracticable. this scheme.
 By his unseasonable perseverance in pushing it,
 he not only filled the Germans with new jealousy
 of his ambitious designs, but laid the founda-
 tion of rivalry and discord in the Austrian
 family, and forced his brother Ferdinand, in self-
 defence, to court the Electors, particularly Mau-
 rice of Saxony, and to form such connexions
 with them, as cut off all prospect of renewing
 the proposal with success. Philip, soured by
 his disappointment, was sent back to Spain, to
 be called thence when any new scheme of am-
 bition should render his presence necessary ¹³.

HAVING relinquished this plan of domestick The Pope
 ambition which had long occupied and engrossed and Empe-
 him, Charles imagined that he would now have ror form a
 leisure to turn all his attention towards his design to re-
 grand scheme of establishing uniformity of reli- cover Parma
 gion in the Empire, by forcing all the contend- and Placen-
 ing parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the tia.
 council of Trent. But such was the extent of

¹³ Sleid. 505. Thuan. 180. 238. Mém. de Ribier, ii.
 219. 281. 314. Adriani Istor. lib. viii. 507. 520.

BOOK X. his dominions, the variety of connexions in
1551. which this entangled him, and the multiplicity
of events to which these gave rise, as seldom
allowed him to apply his whole force to any
one object. The machine which he had to con-
duct was so great and complicated, that an un-
foreseen irregularity or obstruction in one of the
inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion
of the whole, and disappointed him of the most
considerable effects which he expected. Such
an unlooked-for occurrence happened at this
juncture, and created new obstacles to the exe-
cution of his schemes with regard to religion.
Julius III. though he had confirmed Octavio
Farnese in the possession of the duchy of Parma,
during the first effusions of his joy and gratitude
on his promotion to the papal throne, soon be-
gan to repent of his own generosity, and to be
apprehensive of consequences which either he
did not foresee, or had disregarded, while the
sense of his obligations to the family of Farnese
was recent. The Emperor still retained Pla-
centia in his hands, and had not relinquished
his pretensions to Parma as a fief of the Empire.
Gonzaga, the governor of Milan, having, by
the part which he took in the murder of the
late Duke Peter Ludovico, offered an insult to
the family of Farnese, which he knew could
never be forgiven, had, for that reason, vowed
its

its 'destruction; and employed all the influence which his great abilities, as well as long services, gave him with the Emperor, in persuading him to seize Parma by force of arms. Charles, in compliance with his solicitations, and that he might gratify his own desire of annexing Parma to the Milanese, listened to the proposal; and Gonzaga, ready to take encouragement from the slightest appearance of approbation, began to assemble troops, and to make other preparations for the execution of his scheme.

OCTAVIO, who saw the impending danger, found it necessary, for his own safety, to encrease the garrison of his capital, and to levy soldiers for defending the rest of the country. But as the expence of such an effort far exceeded his scanty revenues, he represented his situation to the Pope, and implored that protection and assistance which was due to him as a vassal of the church. The Imperial minister, however, had already pre-occupied the Pope's ear; and by discoursing continually concerning the danger of giving offence to the Emperor, as well as the imprudence of supporting Octavio in an usurpation so detrimental to the Holy See, had totally alienated him from the family of Farnese. Octavio's remonstrance and petition met, of consequence, with a cold reception, and he, despairing of any assistance from Julius, began to look

Book X:
1551:

Octavio
Farnese
courts the
assistance of
France.

BOOK X. round for protection from some other quarter.
 1551. Henry II. of France was the only Prince powerful enough to afford him this protection, and fortunately he was now in a situation which allowed him to undertake it. He had brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms, which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the Continent, to such an issue as he desired. This he had effected partly by the vigour of his arms, partly by his dexterity in taking advantage of the political factions which raged in both kingdoms to such a degree, as rendered the councils of the Scots violent and precipitate, and the operations of the English feeble and unsteady. He had procured from the English favourable conditions of peace for his allies the Scots; he had prevailed on the nobles of Scotland not only to affiance their young Queen to his son the Dauphin, but even to send her into France, that she might be educated under his eye; and had recovered Boulogne, together with its dependencies, which had been conquered by Henry VIII.

His league
 with
 Henry II.

HAVING gained points of so much consequence to his crown, and disengaged himself with such honour from the burden of supporting the Scots, and maintaining a war against England, Henry was now at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy

of the Emperor's power naturally suggested. He listened, accordingly, to the first overtures which Octavio Farnese made him; and embracing eagerly an opportunity of recovering footing in Italy, he instantly concluded a treaty, in which he promised to espouse his cause, and to furnish him all the assistance which he desired. This transaction could not be long kept secret from the Pope, who foreseeing the calamities which must follow if war were rekindled so near the ecclesiastical state, immediately issued monitory letters, required Octavio to relinquish his new alliance. Upon his refusal to comply with the requisition, he soon after pronounced his fief to be forfeited, and declared war against him as a disobedient and rebellious vassal. But as with his own forces alone, he could not hope to subdue Octavio while supported by such a powerful ally as the King of France, he had recourse to the Emperor, who being extremely solicitous to prevent the establishment of the French in Parma, ordered Gonzaga to second Julius with all his troops. Thus the French took the field as the allies of Octavio; the Imperialists as the protectors of the Holy See; and hostilities commenced between them, while Charles and Henry themselves still affected to give out that they would adhere inviolably to the peace of Crespy. The war of Parma was not distinguished by any memorable event. Many small rencounters hap-

BOOK X.
1551.

Occasions
the renewal
of hostilities
between
Charles and
Henry.

BOOK X.
1551.

pened with alternate success; the French ravaged part of the ecclesiastical territories; the Imperialists laid waste the Parmesan: and the latter, after having begun to besiege Parma in form, were obliged to abandon the enterprize with disgrace ¹⁴.

Retards the
meeting of
the council.

BUT the motions and alarm which this war, or the preparations for it, occasioned in Italy, prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the first of May, the day appointed for re-assembling the council; and though the papal legate and nuncios resorted thither, they were obliged to adjourn to the first of September, hoping such a number might then assemble, that they might with decency begin their deliberations. At that time, about sixty prelates, mostly from the ecclesiastical state, or from Spain, together with a few Germans, convened ¹⁵. The session was opened with the accustomed formalities, and the fathers were about to proceed to business, when the abbot of Bellozane appeared, and presenting letters of credence as ambassador from the French King, demanded audience. Having obtained it, he protested, in Henry's name, against an assembly

Henry pro-
tests against
the council.

¹⁴ Adriani Istor. lib. viii. 505. 514. 524. Sleid. 513. Paruta, p. 220. Lettere del Caro scritte al nome del Card. Farnese, tom ii. p. 11, &c. ¹⁵ F. Paul, 268.

called at such an improper juncture, when a war, Book X.
 wantonly kindled by the Pope, made it impos- 1551.
 sible for the deputies from the Gallican church
 to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate con-
 cerning articles of faith and discipline with the
 requisite tranquillity; he declared, that his master
 did not acknowledge this to be a general or
 œcumenick council, but must consider, and
 would treat it, as a particular and partial con-
 vention¹⁶. The legate affected to despise this
 protest; and the prelates proceeded, notwith-
 standing, to examine and decide the great points
 in controversy concerning the sacrament of the
 Lord's Supper, penance, and extreme unction.
 This measure of the French Monarch, however,
 gave a deep wound to the credit of the council,
 at the very commencement of its deliberations.
 The Germans could not pay much regard to
 an assembly, the authority of which the second
 Prince in Christendom had formally disclaimed,
 or feel any great reverence for the decisions of a
 few men, who arrogated to themselves all the
 rights belonging to the representatives of the
 church universal, a title to which they had such
 poor pretensions.

THE Emperor, nevertheless, was straining his
 authority to the utmost, in order to establish the

¹⁶ Sleid. § 18. Thuan. 282. F. Paul, 301.

BOOK X. reputation and jurisdiction of the council. He had
 1551. prevailed on the three ecclesiastical Electors,
 Violence of the Empe- the prelates of greatest power and dignity in the
 ror's pro- church next to the Pope, to repair thither in
 ceedings person. He had obliged several German bishops
 against the of inferior rank, to go to Trent themselves, or
 Protestants. to send their proxies. He granted an Imperial
 safe-conduct to the ambassadors nominated by
 the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wur-
 temberg, and other Protestant states, to attend
 the council; and exhorted them to send their
 divines thither, in order to propound, explain,
 and defend their doctrine. At the same time,
 his zeal anticipated the decrees of the council;
 and as if the Protestant doctrines had already
 been condemned, he took large steps towards
 exterminating them. With this intention, he
 called together the ministers of Augsburgh; and
 after interrogating them concerning several con-
 troverted points, enjoined them to teach nothing
 with respect to these, contrary to the tenets of
 the Romish church. Upon their declining to
 comply with a requisition so contrary to the
 dictates of their consciences, he commanded them
 to leave the town in three days, without reveal-
 ing to any person the cause of their banishment;
 he prohibited them to preach for the future in
 any of the countries subject to the Imperial
 jurisdiction; and obliged them to take an oath

that they would punctually obey these injunctions. They were not the only victims to his zeal. The Protestant clergy, in most of the cities in the circle of Swabia, were ejected with the same violence; and in many places, such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions, were dismissed with the most abrupt irregularity, and their offices filled, in consequence of the Emperor's arbitrary appointment, with the most bigoted of their adversaries. The Reformed worship was almost entirely suppressed throughout that extensive province. The ancient and fundamental privileges of the free cities were violated. The people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests, whom they regarded with horror as idolaters; and to submit to the jurisdiction of magistrates, whom they detested as usurpers¹⁷.

BOOK X.
1551.

THE Emperor, after this discovery, which was more explicit than any that he had hitherto made, of his intention to subvert the German constitution, as well as to extirpate the Protestant religion, set out for Inspruck in the Tyrol. He fixed his residence in that city, as by its situation in the neighbourhood of Trent, and on the confines of Italy, it appeared a commodious station, whence he might inspect

His endeavours to support the council.

November.

¹⁷ Sleid. 516. 528. Thuan. 279.

BOOK X. the operations of the council, and observe the
 1551. progress of the war in the Parmesan, without
 losing sight of such occurrences as might happen
 in Germany ¹³.

The siege of
 Magdeburgh

DURING these transactions, the siege of Magdeburgh was carried on with various success. At the time when Charles proscribed the citizens of Magdeburgh, and put them under the ban of the Empire, he had exhorted and even enjoined all the neighbouring states to take arms against them, as rebels and common enemies. Encouraged by his exhortations as well as promises, George of Mecklenburgh a younger brother of the reigning Duke, an active and ambitious Prince, collected a considerable number of those soldiers of fortune who had accompanied Henry of Brunswick in all his wild enterprizes; and though a zealous Lutheran himself, invaded the territories of the Magdeburghers, hoping that, by the merit of this service, he might procure some part of their domains to be allotted to him as an establishment. The citizens, unaccustomed as yet to endure patiently the calamities of war, could not be restrained from rallying out in order to save their lands from being laid waste. They attacked the Duke of Mecklenburgh with more resolution

¹³ Sleid. 329.

than conduct, and were repulsed with great slaughter. But as they were animated with that unconquerable spirit, which flows from zeal for religion co-operating with the love of civil liberty, far from being disheartened by their misfortune, they prepared to defend themselves with rigour. Many of the veteran soldiers who had served in the long wars between the Emperor and King of France, crowding to their standards under able and experienced officers, they acquired military skill by degrees, and added all the advantages of that to the efforts of undaunted courage. The Duke of Mecklenburgh, notwithstanding the severe blow which he had given the Magdeburghers, not daring to invest a town strongly fortified, and defended by such a garrison, continued to ravage the open country.

As the hopes of booty drew many adventurers to the camp of this young Prince, Maurice of Saxony began to be jealous of the power which he possessed by being at the head of such a numerous body, and marching towards Magdeburgh with his own troops, assumed the supreme command of the whole army, an honour to which his high rank and great abilities, as well as the nomination of the diet, gave him an indisputable title. With this united

BOOK X.
 1551.

Maurice takes the command of the army which carried on the siege.

BOOK X.

1551.

force he invested the town, and began the siege in form; claiming great merit with the Emperor on that account, as, from his zeal to execute the Imperial decree, he was exposing himself once more to the censures and maledictions of the party with which he agreed in religious sentiments. But the approaches to the town went on slowly; the garrison interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies, in one of which the Duke of Mecklenburgh was taken prisoner, levelled part of their works, and cut off the soldiers in their advanced posts. While the citizens of Magdeburgh, animated by the discourses of their pastors, and the soldiers encouraged by the example of their officers, endured all the hardships of a siege without murmuring, and defended themselves with the same ardour which they had at first discovered; the troops of the besiegers acted with extreme remissness, repining at every thing that they suffered in a service which they disliked. They broke out, more than once, into open mutiny, demanding the arrears of their pay, which, as the Germans sent in their contributions sparingly, and with great reluctance, towards defraying the expences of this war, amounted to a considerable sum¹². Maurice, too, had particular motives, though such as he durst not avow at that juncture,

¹² Thuan. 277. Sleid. 514.

which induced him not to push the siege with vigour, and made him chuse rather to continue at the head of an army exposed to all the imputations which his dilatory proceedings drew upon him, than to precipitate a conquest that might have brought him some accession of reputation, but would have rendered it necessary to disband his forces.

BOOK X.
1551.

AT last, the inhabitants of the town beginning to suffer distress from want of provisions, and Maurice finding it impossible to protract matters any longer without filling the Emperor with such suspicions as might have disconcerted all his measures, he concluded a treaty of capitulation with the city upon the following conditions; that the Magdeburghers should humbly implore pardon of the Emperor; that they should not for the future take arms, or enter into any alliance against the house of Austria; that they should submit to the authority of the Imperial chamber; that they should conform to the decree of the diet at Augsburgh with respect to religion; that the new fortifications added to the town should be demolished; that they should pay a fine of fifty thousand crowns, deliver up twelve pieces of ordnance to the Emperor, and set the Duke of Mecklenburgh, together with their other prisoners, at liberty,

The city
surrenders
to Maurice.

Novemb. 3.

BOOK X. without ransom. Next day their garrison marched
 1551. out, and Maurice took possession of the town
 with great military pomp.

Maurice's
 views at this
 juncture.

BEFORE the terms of capitulation were settled, Maurice had held many conferences with Albert count Mansfeldt, who had the chief command in Magdeburgh. He consulted likewise with count Heideck, an officer who had served with great reputation in the army of the league of Smalkalde, whom the Emperor had proscribed on account of his zeal for that cause, but whom Maurice had, notwithstanding, secretly engaged in his service, and admitted into the most intimate confidence. To them he communicated a scheme, which he had long revolved in his mind, for procuring liberty to his father-in-law the Landgrave, for vindicating the privileges of the Germanick body, and setting bounds to the dangerous encroachments of the Imperial power. Having deliberated with them concerning the measures which might be necessary for securing the success of such an arduous enterprize, he gave Mansfeldt secret assurances that the fortifications of Magdeburgh should not be destroyed, and that the inhabitants should neither be disturbed in the exercise of their religion, nor be deprived of any of their ancient immunities. In order to engage Maurice

more thoroughly from considerations of interest to fulfil these engagements, the senate of Magdeburgh elected him their Burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral house of Saxony, and which entitled him to a very ample jurisdiction not only in the city but in its dependencies ²⁰.

BOOK X.
1551.

THUS the citizens of Magdeburgh, after enduring a siege of twelve months, and struggling for their liberties, religious and civil, with an invincible fortitude, worthy of the cause in which it was exerted, had at last the good fortune to conclude a treaty, which left them in a better condition than the rest of their countrymen, whom their timidity or want of publick spirit had betrayed into such mean submissions to the Emperor. But while a great part of Germany applauded the gallant conduct of the Magdeburghers, and rejoiced in their having escaped the destruction with which they had been threatened, all admired Maurice's address in the conduct of his negotiations with them, as well as the dexterity with which he converted every event to his own advantage. They saw, with amazement, that after having afflicted the Magdeburghers during many months with all the

The advantages he derived from his negotiations with the Magdeburghers.

²⁰ Sleid. 528. Thuan. 276. Obsidionis Magdeburgicæ Descriptio per Sebast. Besselmeierum, ap. Scard. ii. 518.

BOOK X.

1551.

calamities of war, he was at last, by their voluntary election, vested with supreme authority in that city which he had so lately besieged; that after having been so long the object of their satirical invectives as an apostate, and an enemy to the religion which he professed, they seemed now to place unbounded confidence in his zeal and good-will²¹. At the same time, the publick articles in the treaty of capitulation were so perfectly conformable to those which the Emperor had granted to the other Protestant cities, and Maurice took such care to magnify his merit in having reduced a place which had defended itself with so much obstinacy, that Charles, far from suspecting any thing fraudulent or collusive in the terms of accommodation, ratified them without hesitation, and absolved the Magdeburghers from the sentence of ban which had been denounced against them.

His expedient for keeping an army on foot.

THE only point that now remained to embarrass Maurice was how to keep together the veteran troops which had served under him, as well as those which had been employed in the defence of the town. For this, too, he found an expedient with singular art and felicity. His schemes against the Emperor were not yet so fully ripened, that he durst venture to disclose

²¹ Arnoldi vita Mauriti. apud Menken, ii. 1227.

them, and proceed openly to carry them into execution. The winter was approaching, which made it impossible to take the field immediately. He was afraid that it would give a premature alarm to the Emperor, if he should retain such a considerable body in his pay until the season of action returned in the spring. As soon then as Magdeburgh opened its gates, he sent home his Saxon subjects, whom he could command to take arms and re-assemble on the shortest warning; and at the same time, paying part of the arrears due to the mercenary troops, who had followed his standard, as well as to the soldiers who had served in the garrison, he absolved them from their respective oaths of fidelity, and disbanded them. But the moment he gave them their discharge, George Duke of Mecklenburgh, who was now set at liberty, offered to take them into his service, and to become surety for the payment of what was still owing to them. As such adventurers were accustomed often to change masters, they instantly accepted the offer. Thus these troops were kept united, and ready to march wherever Maurice should call them, while the Emperor, deceived by this artifice, and imagining that the Duke of Mecklenburgh had hired them with an intention to assert his claim to a part of his brother's territories by force of arms, suffered this trans-

BOOK X.

1551.

BOOK X. action to pass without observation, as if it had
1551. been a matter of no consequence ²².

His address
in conceal-
ing his in-
tentions
from the
Emperor.

HAVING ventured to take these steps which were of so much consequence towards the execution of his schemes, Maurice, that he might divert the Emperor from observing their tendency too narrowly, and prevent the suspicions which that must have excited, saw the necessity of employing some new artifice in order to engage his attention, and to confirm him in his present security. As he knew that the chief object of the Emperor's solicitude at this juncture, was how he might prevail with the Protestant States of Germany to recognise the authority of the council of Trent, and to send thither ambassadors in their own name, as well as deputies from their respective churches, he took hold of this predominating passion in order to amuse and to deceive him. He affected a wonderful zeal to gratify Charles in what he desired with regard to this matter; he nominated ambassadors, whom he empowered to attend the council; he made choice of Melancthon and some of the most eminent among his brethren to prepare a confession of faith, and to lay it before that assembly. After his

²² Thuan. 278. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. 1064. Arnoldi vita Mauricii apud Menken, ii. 1227.

example;

example, and probably in consequence of his solicitations the Duke of Wurtemberg, the city of Strasburgh, and other Protestant States appointed ambassadors and divines to attend the council. They all applied to the Emperor for his safe-conduct, which they obtained in the most ample form. This was deemed sufficient for the security of the ambassadors, and they proceeded accordingly on their journey; but a separate safe-conduct from the council itself was demanded for the Protestant divines. The fate of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, whom the council of Constance, in the preceding century, had condemned to the flames without regarding the Imperial safe-conduct which had been granted them, rendered this precaution prudent and necessary. But as the Pope was no less unwilling that the Protestants should be admitted to an hearing in the council, than the Emperor had been eager in bringing them to demand it, the legate by promises and threats prevailed on the fathers of the council to decline issuing a safe-conduct in the same form with that which the council of Basil had granted to the followers of Hufs. The Protestants, on their part, insisted upon the council's copying the precise words of that instrument. The Imperial ambassadors interposed, in order to obtain what would satisfy them. Alterations in the

BOOK X.

1551.

BOOK X. form of the writ were proposed; expedients
 1551. were suggested; protests and counter-protests were taken: the legate, together with his associates, laboured to gain their point by artifice and chicane; the Protestants adhered to theirs with firmness and obstinacy. An account of every thing that passed in Trent was transmitted to the Emperor at Inspruck, who, attempting, from an excess of zeal, or of confidence in his own address, to reconcile the contending parties, was involved in a labyrinth of inextricable negotiations. By means of this, however, Maurice gained all that he had in view; the Emperor's time was wholly engrossed, and his attention diverted; while he himself had leisure to mature his schemes, to carry on his intrigues, and to finish his preparations, before he threw off the mask, and struck the blow which he had so long meditated²³.

The Affairs
 of Hungary.

BUT previous to the history of Maurice's operations, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little towards their producing such extraordinary effects. When Solyman, in the year 1541, by a stratagem, which suited the base and insidious policy of a petty usurper, rather than the magnanimity of a mighty conqueror,

²³ Sleid. 526. 529. F. Paul, 323. 338. Thuan. 286.

deprived the young King of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he had granted that unfortunate Prince the country of Transylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this, together with the care of educating the young King, for he still allowed him to retain that title, though he had rendered it only an empty name, he committed to the Queen and Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin, whom the late King had appointed his son's guardians and regents of his dominions, at a time when those offices were of greater importance. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality as it would have excited in a great kingdom; an ambitious young Queen, conscious of her capacity for governing, and an high-spirited prelate, fond of power, contending who should engross the greatest share in the administration. Each had their partizans among the nobles; but as Martinuzzi, by his great talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella turned his own arts against him, and courted the protection of the Turks.

THE neighbouring Baschas, jealous of the bishop's power as well as abilities, readily promised her the aid which she demanded, and would soon have obliged Martinuzzi to have

BOOK X.

1551.

Martinuzzi
favours Fera-
dinand's
pretensions
in that
kingdom.

BOOK X.

1551.

given up to her the sole direction of affairs, if his ambition, fertile in expedients, had not suggested to him a new measure, and one that tended not only to preserve but to enlarge his authority. Having concluded an agreement with the Queen, by the mediation of some of the nobles, who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of a civil war, he secretly dispatched one of his confidants to Vienna, and entered into a negociation with Ferdinand. As it was no difficult matter to persuade Ferdinand, that the same man whose enmity and intrigues had driven him out of a great part of his Hungarian dominions, might, upon a reconciliation, become equally instrumental in recovering them he listened eagerly to the first overtures of an union with that prelate. Martinuzzi allured him by such prospects of advantage, and engaged, with so much confidence, that he would prevail on the most powerful of the Hungarian nobles to take arms in his favour, that Ferdinand, notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, agreed to invade Transylvania. The command of the troops destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, was given to Castaldo Marquis de Piadena, an officer formed by the famous Marquis de Pescara, whom he strongly resembled both in his enterprizing genius for

civil business, and in his great knowledge in the art of war. This army, more formidable by the discipline of the soldiers, and the abilities of the general, than by its numbers, was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians. As the Turkish Basbas, the Sultan himself being at the head of his army on the frontiers of Persia, could not afford the Queen such immediate or effectual assistance as the exigency of her affairs required, she quickly lost all hopes of being able to retain any longer the authority which she possessed as regent, and even began to despair of her son's safety.

BOOK X.
1551.

MARTINUZZI did not suffer this favourable opportunity of accomplishing his own designs to pass unimproved, and ventured, while she was in this state of dejection, to lay before her a proposal, which at any other time she would have rejected with disdain. He represented how impossible it was for her to resist Ferdinand's victorious arms; that even if the Turks should enable her to make head against them, she would be far from changing her condition to the better, and could not consider them as deliverers, but as masters, to whose commands she must submit; he conjured her, therefore, as she regarded her own dignity, the safety of her son,

The success
of his mea-
sures.

BOOK X. or the security of Christendom, rather to give
1551. up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and to make
over to him her son's title to the crown of
Hungary, than to allow both to be usurped by
the inveterate enemy of the Christian faith. At
the same time, he promised her, in Ferdinand's
name, a compensation for herself, as well as for
her son, suitable to their rank, and propor-
tional to the value of what they were to sacri-
fice. Isabella, deserted by some of her adhe-
rents, distrusting others, destitute of friends,
and surrounded by Castaldo's and Martinuzzi's
troops, subscribed these hard conditions, though
with a reluctant hand. Upon this, she surren-
dered such places of strength as were still in
her possession, she gave up all the ensigns of
royalty, particularly a crown of gold, which, as
the Hungarians believed, had descended from
heaven, and conferred on him who wore it an
undoubted right to the throne. As she could
not bear to remain a private person, in a country
where she had once enjoyed sovereign power,
she instantly set out with her son for Silesia, in
order to take possession of the principalities of
Oppelan and Ratibor, the investiture of which
Ferdinand had engaged to grant her son, and
likewise to bestow one of his daughters upon
him in marriage.

UPON the resignation of the young King, BOOK X.
 Martinuzzi, and after his example the rest of 1551.
 the Transylvanian grandees, swore allegiance to Ferdinand; who, in order to testify his grateful Appointed
 sense of the zeal as well as success with which governor of
 that prelate had served him, affected to distin- that part of
 guish him by every possible mark of favour and Hungary
 confidence. He appointed him governor of which was
 Transylvania, with almost unlimited authority; subject to
 he ordered Castaldo to pay the greatest deference Ferdinand.
 to his opinion and commands; he increased his
 revenues, which were already very great, by new
 appointments; he nominated him archbishop
 of Gran, and prevailed on the Pope to raise
 him to the dignity of a Cardinal. All this osten-
 tation, of good-will, however, was void of sin-
 cerity, and calculated to conceal sentiments the
 most perfectly its reverse. Ferdinand dreaded
 Martinuzzi's abilities; distrusted his fidelity;
 and foresaw, that as his extensive authority en-
 abled him to check any attempt towards cir-
 cumscribing or abolishing the extensive privi-
 leges which the Hungarian nobility possessed,
 he would stand forth, on every occasion, the
 guardian of the liberties of his country, rather
 than act the part of a viceroy devoted to the
 will of his sovereign.

FOR this reason, he secretly gave it in charge Ferdinand
 to Castaldo to watch his motions, to guard begins to

BOOK X. against his designs, and to thwart his measures.
 1551. But Martinuzzi, either because he did not per-
 form designs against him. ceive that Castaldo was placed as a spy on his
 actions, or because he despised Ferdinand's in-
 fidious arts, assumed the direction of the war
 against the Turks with his usual tone of autho-
 rity, and conducted it with great magnani-
 mity, and no less success. He recovered some
 places of which the Infidels had taken posses-
 sion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others
 abortive; and established Ferdinand's authority
 not only in Transylvania, but in the Bannat of
 Temeswar, and several of the countries adjacent.
 In carrying on these operations, he often differed
 in sentiments from Castaldo and his officers, and
 treated the Turkish prisoners with a degree not
 only of humanity, but even of generosity, which
 Castaldo loudly condemned. This was repre-
 sented at Vienna as an artful method of court-
 ing the friendship of the Infidels, that, by se-
 curing their protection, he might shake off all
 dependence upon the sovereign whom he now
 acknowledged. Though Martinuzzi, in justi-
 fication of his own conduct, contended that it
 was impolitick to exasperate an enemy prone to
 revenge by unnecessary severities, Castaldo's ac-
 cusations gained credit with Ferdinand, prepos-
 sessed already against Martinuzzi, and jealous
 of every thing that could endanger his own au-
 thority in Hungary, in proportion as he knew

it to be precarious and ill established. These Book X.
 suspicions Castaldo confirmed and strengthened 1551.
 by the intelligence which he transmitted con-
 tinually to his confidents at Vienna. By misre-
 presenting what was innocent, and putting the
 worst construction on what seemed dubious in
 Martinuzzi's conduct; by imputing to him de-
 signs which he never formed, and charging him
 with actions of which he was not guilty; he at
 last convinced Ferdinand, that, in order to pre-
 serve his Hungarian crown, he must cut off that
 ambitious prelate. But Ferdinand, foreseeing
 that it would be dangerous to proceed in the
 regular course of law against a subject of such
 exorbitant power, as enabled him to set his sove-
 reign at defiance, determined to employ vio-
 lence, in order to obtain that satisfaction which
 the laws were too feeble to afford him.

He issued his orders accordingly to Castaldo, He is assas-
 who willingly undertook that infamous service. finated by
 Having communicated the design to some Italian his com-
 and Spanish officers whom he could trust, and mand.
 concerted with them the plan of executing it,
 they entered Martinuzzi's apartment, early one Dec. 18.
 morning, under pretence of presenting to him
 some dispatches which were to be sent off imme-
 diately to Vienna; and while he perused a paper
 with attention, one of their number struck him

Book X. with his poniard in the throat. The blow was
 1551. not mortal. Martinuzzi started up with the intrepidity natural to him, and grappling the assassin, threw him to the ground. But the other conspirators rushing in, an old man, unarmed, and alone, unable long to sustain such an unequal conflict, sunk under the wounds which he received from so many hands. Their dread of the foreign troops restrained the Transylvanians from rising in arms, in order to take vengeance on the murderers of a prelate who had long been the object of their love as well as
 The effect of that violent action. veneration. They spoke of the deed, however, with horror and execration; and exclaimed against Ferdinand, whom neither gratitude for recent and important services, nor reverence for a character considered as sacred and inviolable among Christians, could restrain from shedding the blood of a man, whose only crime was attachment to his native country. The nobles, detesting the jealous as well as cruel policy of a court, which, upon uncertain and improbable surmises, had given up a person, no less conspicuous for his merit than his rank, to be butchered by assassins, either retired to their own estates, or if they continued with the Austrian army, grew cold to the service. The Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whose abilities they knew and dreaded, prepared to renew

hostilities early in the spring; and instead of the security which Ferdinand had expected from the removal of Martinuzzi, it was evident that his territories in Hungary were about to be attacked with greater vigour, and defended with less zeal, than ever²⁴.

BOOK X.
1551.

By this time, Maurice having almost finished his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of declaring his intentions openly, and of taking the field against the Emperor. His first care, after he came to this resolution, was to disclaim that narrow and bigoted maxim of the confederates of Smalkalde, which had led them to shun all connexion with foreigners. He had observed how fatal this had been to their cause; and instructed by their error, he was as eager to court the protection of Henry II. as they had been solicitous to prevent the interposition of Francis I. Happily for him, he found Henry in a disposition to listen to the first overture on his part, and in a situation which enabled him to bring the whole force of the French monarchy into action. Henry had long observed the progress of the Emperor's arms with jealousy, and wished to distinguish himself by trying his

Maurice
courts the
protection
of the
French
King.

²⁴ Sleid. 535. Thuan. lib. ix. 309, &c. Istuanhaffi Hist. Regn. Hungarici. lib. xvi. 189, &c. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 871. Natalis Comit's Historia, lib. iv. 84, &c.

BOOK X. strength against the same enemy, whom it had
 1551. been the glory of his father's reign to oppose. He had laid hold on the first opportunity in his power of thwarting the Emperor's designs, by taking the Duke of Parma under his protection; and hostilities were already begun, not only in that dutchy but in Piedmont. Having terminated the war with England by a peace, no less advantageous to himself than honourable for his allies the Scots, the restless and enterprising courage of his nobles was impatient to display itself on some theatre of action more conspicuous than the petty operations in Parma or Piedmont afforded them.

His treaty
 with him.

JOHN DE FIESSE, bishop of Bayonne, whom Henry had sent into Germany, under pretence of hiring troops to be employed in Italy, was empowered to conclude a treaty in form with Maurice and his associates. As it would have been very indecent in a King of France to have undertaken the defence of the Protestant church, the interests of religion, how much soever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. Religious concerns, they pretended to commit entirely to the disposition of divine providence; the only motives assigned for their present confederacy against Charles, were to procure the

Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the subversion of the ancient constitution and laws of the German Empire. In order to accomplish these ends, it was agreed; that all the contracting parties should, at the same time, declare war against the Emperor; that neither peace nor truce should be made but by common consent nor without including each of the confederates; that, in order to guard against the inconveniences of anarchy, or of pretensions to joint command, Maurice should be acknowledged as head of the German confederates, with absolute authority in all military affairs; that Maurice and his associates should bring into the field seven thousand horse, with a proportional number of infantry; that towards the subsistence of this army, during the three first months of the war, Henry should contribute two hundred and forty thousand crowns, and afterwards sixty thousand crowns a-month, as long as they continued in arms; that Henry should attack the Emperor on the side of Lorrain with a powerful army; that if it were found requisite to elect a new Emperor, such a person should be nominated as shall be agreeable to the King of France²⁵. This treaty was concluded on the fifth of October, some time before Magdeburgh

Book X.
1551.

²⁵ Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 258. Thuan. lib. viii. 279.

BOOK. X. surrendered, and the preparatory negociations
 1551. were conducted with such profound secrecy, that
 of all the Princes who afterwards acceded to it,
 Maurice communicated what he was carrying
 on to two only, John Albert, the reigning Duke
 of Mecklenburgh, and William of Hesse, the
 Landgrave's eldest son. The league itself was no
 less anxiously concealed, and with such fortunate
 care, that no rumour concerning it reached the
 ears of the Emperor or his ministers; nor do
 they seem to have conceived the most distant
 suspicion of such a transaction.

Solicits
 the aid of
 Edward VI.
 of England.

AT the same time, with a solicitude which
 was careful to draw some accession of strength
 from every quarter, Maurice applied to Edward
 VI. of England, and requested a subsidy of four
 hundred thousand crowns for the support of a
 confederacy formed in defence of the Protestant
 religion. But the factions which prevailed in
 the English court during the minority of that
 Prince, and which deprived both the councils
 and arms of the nation of their wonted vigour,
 left the English ministers neither time nor inclina-
 tion to attend to foreign affairs, and prevented
 Maurice's obtaining that aid, which their zeal
 for the Reformation would have prompted them
 to grant him²⁶.

²⁶ Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. Append. 37.

MAURICE, however, having secured the protection of such a powerful Monarch as Henry II. proceeded with great confidence, but with equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it necessary to make one effort more, in order to obtain the Emperor's consent that the Landgrave should be set at liberty, he sent a solemn embassy, in his own name, and in that of the Elector of Brandenburg, to Inspruck. After refusing, at great length, all the facts and arguments upon which they founded their claim, and representing, in the strongest terms, the peculiar engagements which bound them to be so assiduous in their solicitations, they renewed the request in behalf of the unfortunate prisoner, which they had so often preferred in vain. The Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, the Duke of Deux-ponts, the Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and the Marquis of Baden, by their ambassadors, concurred with them in their suit. Letters were likewise delivered to the same effect from the King of Denmark, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Lunenburgh. Even the King of the Romans joined in this application, being moved with compassion towards the Landgrave in his wretched situation, or influenced, perhaps, by a secret jealousy of his brother's power and designs, which, since his attempt to alter the order of succession in the Empire, he

BOOK X.

1551.

Demands
once more
that the
Landgrave
should be set
at liberty.

December.

BOOK X. had come to view with other eyes, and dreaded
1551. to a great degree.

BUT Charles, constant to his own system with regard to the Landgrave, eluded a demand urged by such powerful intercessors; and having declared that he would communicate his resolution concerning the matter to Maurice as soon as he arrived at Inspruck, where he was every day expected, he did not deign to descend into any more particular explication of his intentions²⁷. This application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of great advantage to Maurice. It served to justify his subsequent proceedings, and to demonstrate the necessity of employing arms in order to extort that equitable concession, which his mediation or intreaty could not obtain. It was of use, too, to confirm the Emperor in his security, as both the solemnity of the application, and the sollicitude with which so many Princes were drawn in to enforce it, led him to conclude, that Maurice placed all his hopes of restoring the Landgrave to liberty, in gaining his consent to dismiss him.

1552.

Maurice
continues to
amuse the
Emperor.

MAURICE employed artifices still more refined to conceal his machinations, to amuse the Emperor, and to gain time. He affected to be more

²⁷ Sleid. 531. Thuan. lib. viii. 280.

sollicitous

solicitous than ever to find out some expedient for removing the difficulties with regard to the safe-conduct for the Protestant divines appointed to attend the council, so that they might repair thither without any apprehension of danger. His ambassadors at Trent had frequent conferences concerning this matter with the Imperial ambassadors in that city, and laid open their sentiments to them with the appearance of the most unreserved confidence. He was willing, at last, to have it believed, that he thought all differences with respect to this preliminary article were on the point of being adjusted; and in order to give credit to this opinion, he commanded Melancthon, together with his brethren, to set out on their journey to Trent. At the same time, he held a close correspondence with the Imperial court at Inspruck, and renewed on every occasion his professions not only of fidelity but of attachment to the Emperor. He talked continually of his intention of going to Inspruck in person; he ordered a house to be hired for him in that city, and to be fitted up with the greatest dispatch for his reception².

BUT, profoundly skilled as Maurice was in the arts of deceit, and impenetrable as he thought the veil to be, under which he con-

The Emperor conceives some suspicion concerning his intentions.

² Arnoldi vita Mauriti. ap. Menken, ii. 1229.

BOOK X.

1552.

cealed his designs, there were several things in his conduct which alarmed the Emperor amidst his security, and tempted him frequently to suspect that he was meditating something extraordinary. As these suspicions took their rise from circumstances inconsiderable in themselves, or of an ambiguous as well as uncertain nature, they were more than counterbalanced by Maurice's address; and the Emperor would not, lightly, give up his confidence in a man, whom he had once trusted and loaded with favours. One particular alone seemed to be of such consequence, that he thought it necessary to demand an explanation with regard to it. The troops, which George of Mecklenburgh had taken into pay after the capitulation of Magdeburgh, having fixed their quarters in Thuringia, lived at discretion on the lands of the rich ecclesiasticks in their neighbourhood. Their licence and rapaciousness were intolerable. Such as felt or dreaded their exactions, complained loudly to the Emperor, and represented them as a body of men kept in readiness for some desperate enterprize. But Maurice, partly by extenuating the enormities of which they had been guilty, partly by representing the impossibility of disbanding these troops, or of keeping them to regular discipline, unless the arrears still due to them by the Emperor were paid, either removed the apprehensions which this

had occasioned, or as Charles was not in a con- BOOK X.
 dition to satisfy the demands of these soldiers, 1552.
 obliged him to be silent with regard to the
 matter ²⁹.

THE time of action was now approaching. Maurice
 Maurice had privately dispatched Albert of Maurice
prepares for
action.
 Brandenburg to Paris, in order to confirm his
 league with Henry, and to hasten the march of
 the French army. He had taken measures to
 bring his own subjects together on the first sum-
 mons; he had provided for the security of
 Saxony while he should be absent with the
 army; and he held the troops in Thuringia, on
 which he chiefly depended, ready to advance on
 a moment's warning. All these complicated
 operations were carried on without being dis-
 covered by the court at Inspruck, and the Em-
 peror remained there in perfect tranquillity,
 busied entirely in counteracting the intrigues of
 the Pope's legate at Trent, and in settling the
 conditions on which the Protestant divines should
 be admitted into the council, as if there had
 not been any transaction of greater moment in
 agitation.

THIS credulous security in a Prince, who by
 his sagacity in observing the conduct of all round

²⁹ Sleid. 549. Thuan. 339.

BOOK X. him was commonly led to an excess of distrust,
 1552. may seem unaccountable, and has been imputed
 Circumstances which contributed to deceive the Emperor, to infatuation. But besides the exquisite address with which Maurice concealed his intentions, two circumstances contributed to the delusion. The gout had returned upon Charles soon after his arrival at Inspruck, with an increase of violence; and his constitution being broken by such frequent attacks, he was seldom able to exert his natural vigour of mind, or to consider affairs with his usual vigilance and penetration; and Granvelle, bishop of Arras, his prime minister, though one of the most subtle statesmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was on this occasion the dupe of his own craft. He entertained such an high opinion of his own abilities, and held the political talents of the Germans in such contempt, that he despised all the intimations given him concerning Maurice's secret machinations, or the dangerous designs which he was carrying on. When the Duke of Alva, whose dark suspicious mind harboured many doubts concerning the Elector's sincerity, proposed calling him immediately to court to answer for his conduct, Granvelle replied with great scorn, That these apprehensions were groundless, and that a drunken German head was too gross to form any scheme which he could not easily penetrate and baffle. Nor did

and his
 ministers.

he assume this peremptory tone merely from confidence in his own discernment; he had bribed two of Maurice's ministers, and received from them frequent and minute information concerning all their master's motions. But through this very channel, by which he expected to gain access to all Maurice's counsels, and even to his thoughts, such intelligence was conveyed to him as completed his deception. Maurice fortunately discovered the correspondence of the two traitors with Granvelle, but instead of punishing them for their crime, he dexterously availed himself of their fraud, and turned his own arts against the bishop. He affected to treat these ministers with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them to his consultations; he seemed to lay open his heart to them; and taking care all the while to let them be acquainted with nothing but what it was his interest should be known, they transmitted to Inspruck such accounts as possessed Granvelle with a firm belief of his sincerity as well as good intentions³⁰. The Emperor himself, in the fulness of security, was so little moved by a memorial, in name of the ecclesiastical Electors, admonishing him to be on his guard against Maurice, that he made light of this intelligence; and his answer to them

BOOK X.

1552.

³⁰ Melvil's Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 12.

BOOK X. abounds with declarations of his entire and confident reliance on the fidelity as well as attachment of that Prince³¹.
1552.

Maurice
takes the
field against
the Empe-
ror.

AT last Maurice's preparations were completed, and he had the satisfaction to find that his intrigues and designs were still unknown. But, though now ready to take the field, he did not lay aside the arts which he had hitherto employed; and by one piece of craft more, he deceived his enemies a few days longer. He gave out, that he was about to begin that journey to Inspruck of which he had so often talked, and he took one of the ministers whom Granvelle had bribed, to attend him thither. After travelling post a few stages, he pretended to be indisposed by the fatigue of the journey, and dispatching the suspected minister to make his apology to the Emperor for this delay, and to assure him that he would be at Inspruck within a few days; he mounted on horseback, as soon as this spy on his actions was gone, rode
March 18. full speed towards Thuringia, joined his army, which amounted to twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and put it immediately in motion³².

³¹ Sleid. 535.

³² Melv. Mem. p. 13. These circumstances concerning the Saxon ministers whom Granvelle had bribed, are not

AT the same time he published a manifesto Book X. containing his reasons for taking arms. These 1552. were three in number: That he might secure the Protestant religion, which was threatened with immediate destruction: That he might maintain the constitution and laws of the Empire, and save Germany from being subjected to the dominion of an absolute monarch: That he might deliver the Landgrave of Hesse from the miseries of a long and unjust imprisonment. By the first, he roused all the favourers of the Reformation, a party formidable by their zeal as well as numbers, and rendered desperate by oppression. By the second, he interested all the friends of liberty, Catholicks no less than Protestants; and made it their interest to unite with him in asserting the rights and privileges common to both. The third, besides the glory which he acquired by his zeal to fulfil his engagements to the unhappy prisoner, was become a cause of general concern, not only from the compassion which the Landgrave's sufferings excited, but from indignation at the injustice and rigour of the Emperor's proceedings against him. Together with Maurice's manifesto, another appeared in the name of Albert, Marquis

mentioned by the German historians; but as Sir James Melvil received his information from the Elector Palatine, and as they are perfectly agreeable to the rest of Maurice's conduct, they may be considered as authentick.

BOOK X. of Brandenburg Culmbach, who had joined
 1552. him with a body of adventurers whom he had
 drawn together. The same grievances which
 Maurice had pointed out are mentioned in it,
 but with an excess of virulence and animosity
 suitable to the character of the Prince in whose
 name it was published.

He is power-
 fully sup-
 ported by
 the French
 King.

THE King of France added to these a mani-
 festo in his own name; in which, after taking
 notice of the ancient alliance between the French
 and German nations, both descended from the
 same ancestors; and after mentioning the appli-
 cations, which, in consequence of this, some of
 the most illustrious among the German Princes
 had made to him for his protection; he declared
 that he now took arms to re-establish the an-
 cient constitution of the Empire, to deliver
 some of its Princes from captivity, and to secure
 the privileges and independence of all the mem-
 bers of the Germanick body. In this mani-
 festo, Henry assumed the extraordinary title of
Protector of the Liberties of Germany, and of its
captive Princes; and there was engraved on it
 a cap, the ancient symbol of freedom, placed
 between two daggers, in order to intimate to
 the Germans, that this blessing was to be ac-
 quired and secured by force of arms³³.

³³ Sleid. 549. Thuan. lib. x. 339. Mém. de Ribier, ii.
 371.

MAURICE had now a very different part to Book X. act, but his flexible genius was capable of ac- commodating itself to every situation. The moment he took arms, he was as bold and enterprizing in the field, as he had been cautious and crafty in the cabinet. He advanced by rapid marches towards the Upper Germany. All the towns in his way opened their gates to him. He reinstated the magistrates whom the Emperor had deposed, and gave possession of the churches to the Protestant ministers whom he had ejected. He directed his march to Augsburgh, and as the Imperial garrison, which was too inconsiderable to think of defending it, retired immediately, he took possession of that great city, and made the same changes there as in the towns through which he had passed³⁴.

1552.

Maurice's operations in the field.

April 1.

No words can express the Emperor's astonishment and consternation at events so unexpected. He saw a great number of the German Princes in arms against him, and the rest either ready to join them, or wishing success to their enterprise. He beheld a powerful Monarch united with them in close league, seconding their operations in person at the head of a formidable army, while he, through negligence and credulity, which exposed him no less to scorn than

The Emperor's astonishment and distress.

³⁴ Sleid. 555. Thuan. 342.

BOOK X. 1552. to danger, had neither made nor was in condition to make any effectual provision either for crushing his rebellious subjects, or resisting the invasion of the foreign enemy. Part of his Spanish troops had been ordered into Hungary against the Turks; the rest had marched back to Italy upon occasion of the war in the dutchy of Parma. The bands of veteran Germans had been dismissed, because he was not able to pay them; or had entered into Maurice's service after the siege of Magdeburgh; and he remained at Inspruck with a body of soldiers hardly strong enough to guard his own person. His treasury was as much exhausted, as his army was reduced. He had received no remittances for some time from the new world. He had forfeited all credit with the merchants of Genoa and Venice, who refused to lend him money, though tempted by the offer of exorbitant interest. Thus Charles, though undoubtedly the most considerable potentate in Christendom, and capable of exerting the greatest strength, as his power, notwithstanding the violent attack made upon it, was still unimpaired, found himself in a situation which rendered him unable to make such a sudden and vigorous effort as the juncture required, and was necessary to have saved him from the present danger.

IN this situation, the Emperor placed all his hopes on negotiating; the only resource of such as are conscious of their own weakness. But thinking it inconsistent with his dignity to make the first advances to subjects who were in arms against him, he avoided that indecorum by employing the mediation of his brother Ferdinand. Maurice confiding in his own talents to conduct any negotiation in such a manner as to derive advantage from it, and hoping that by the appearance of facility in hearkening to the first overture of accommodation, he might amuse the Emperor and tempt him to slacken the activity with which he was now preparing to defend himself, readily agreed to an interview with Ferdinand in the town of Lintz in Austria: and having left his army to proceed on its march under the command of the Duke of Mecklenburgh, he repaired thither.

MEANWHILE the King of France punctually fulfilled his engagements to his allies. He took the field early with a numerous and well appointed army, and marching directly into Lorraine, Toul and Verdun opened their gates at his approach. His forces appeared next before Metz, and that city by a fraudulent stratagem of the Constable Montmorency, who having obtained permission to pass through it with a small guard, introduced as many troops as were

Book X.
1552.
Endeavours
to gain time
by a nego-
ciation.

Progress of
the French
army.

BOOK X. sufficient to overpower the garrison, was like-
 1552. wise seized without bloodshed. Henry made
 his entry into all these towns with great pomp;
 he obliged the inhabitants to swear allegiance
 to him, and annexed those important conquests
 to the French Monarchy. He left a strong
 garrison in Metz. From thence he advanced
 towards Alsace, in order to attempt new con-
 quests, to which the success that had hitherto
 attended his arms invited him³⁵.

The nego-
 ciations be-
 tween the
 Emperor
 and Maurice
 of no effect

THE conference at Lintz did not produce
 any accommodation. Maurice, when he con-
 sented to it, seems to have had nothing in view
 but to amuse the Emperor; for he made such
 demands both in behalf of his confederates,
 and their ally the French King, as he knew
 would not be accepted by a Prince, too haughty
 to submit, at once, to conditions dictated by
 an enemy. But however firmly Maurice ad-
 hered during the negociation to the interests of
 his associates, or how steadily soever he kept
 in view the objects which had induced him to
 take arms, he often professed a strong incli-
 nation to terminate the differences with the Em-
 peror in an amicable manner. Encouraged by
 this appearance of a pacifick disposition, Ferdi-
 nand proposed a second interview at Passau on

³⁵ Thuan. 349.

the twenty-sixth of May, and that a truce should commence on that day, and continue to the tenth of June, in order to give them leisure for adjusting all the points in dispute. BOOK X.
1552.

UPON this, Maurice rejoined his army on the ninth of May, which had now advanced to Gundelfingen. He put his troops in motion next morning; and as sixteen days yet remained for action before the commencement of the truce, he resolved, during that period, to venture upon an enterprize, the success of which would be so decisive, as would render the negotiations at Passau extremely short, and entitle him to treat upon his own terms. He foresaw that the prospect of a cessation of arms, which was to take place so soon, together with the opinion of his earnestness to re-establish peace, with which he had artfully amused Ferdinand, could hardly fail of inspiring the Emperor with such false hopes, that he would naturally become remiss, and relapse into some degree of that security which had already been so fatal to him. Relying on this conjecture, he marched directly at the head of his army towards Inspruck, and advanced with the most rapid motion that could be given to so great a body of troops. On the eighteenth he arrived at Fieffen, a post of great consequence, at the

Maurice advances towards Inspruck.

BOOK X. entrance into the Tyrolese. There he found
 1552. a body of eight hundred men, whom the Emperor had assembled, strongly intrenched, in order to oppose his progress. He attacked them instantly with such violence and impetuosity that they abandoned their lines precipitantly, and falling back on a second body posted near Ruten, communicated the panick terror with which they themselves had been seized, to those troops, so that they likewise took to flight, after a feeble resistance.

Takes the
 castle of
 Ehrenberg.

ELATED with this success, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes, Maurice pressed forward to Ehrenberg, a castle situated on an high and steep precipice, which commanded the only pass through the mountains. As this fort had been surrendered to the Protestants at the beginning of the Smalkaldick war, because the garrison was then too weak to defend it, the Emperor, sensible of its importance, had taken care, at this juncture, to throw into it a body of troops sufficient to maintain it against the greatest army. But a shepherd, in pursuing a goat which had strayed from his flock, having discovered an unknown path by which it was possible to ascend to the top of the rock, came with this seasonable piece of intelligence to Maurice. A small band of chosen soldiers, under the command of

George of Mecklenburgh, was instantly ordered to follow this guide. They set out in the evening, and clambering up the rugged track with infinite fatigue as well as danger, they reached the summit unperceived; and at an hour which had been concerted, when Maurice began the assault on the one side of the castle, they appeared on the other, ready to scale the walls, which were feeble in that place, because it had been hitherto deemed inaccessible. The garrison, struck with terror at the sight of an enemy on a quarter where they had thought themselves perfectly secure, immediately threw down their arms. Maurice, almost without bloodshed, and which was of greater consequence to him, without loss of time, took possession of a place, the reduction of which might have retarded him long, and have required the utmost efforts of his valour and skill ³⁶.

BOOK X.
1552.

MAURICE was now only two days march from Inspruck, and without losing a moment he ordered his infantry to advance thither, having left his cavalry, which was unserviceable in that mountainous country, at Fieffen, to guard the mouth of the pass. He proposed to advance with such rapidity as to anticipate any accounts of the loss of Ehrenberg, and to surprise the Emperor, together with his attendants, in an open

A mutiny of his troops retards his march.

³⁶ Arnoldi vita Mauriti. 123.

BOOK X.

1552.

town incapable of defence. But just as his troops began to move, a battalion of mercenaries mutinied, declaring that they would not stir until they had received the gratuity, which, according to the custom of that age, they claimed as the recompence due to them for having taken a place by assault. It was with great difficulty as well as danger, and not without some considerable loss of time, that Maurice quieted this insurrection, and prevailed on the soldiers to follow him to a place where he promised them such rich booty as would be an ample reward for all their services.

The Emperor flies in confusion from Inspruck.

To the delay, occasioned by this unforeseen accident, the Emperor owed his safety. He was informed of the approaching danger late in the evening, and knowing that nothing could save him but a speedy flight, he instantly left Inspruck, without regarding the darkness of the night, or the violence of the rain which happened to fall at that time; and notwithstanding the debility occasioned by the gout, which rendered him unable to bear any motion but that of a litter, he travelled by the light of torches, taking his way over the Alps, by roads almost impassable. His courtiers and attendants followed him with equal precipitation, some of them on such horses as they could hastily procuer

procure, many of them on foot, and all in the utmost confusion. In this miserable plight, very unlike the pomp with which Charles had appeared during the five preceding years as the conqueror of Germany, he arrived at length with his dejected train at Villach in Carinthia, and scarcely thought himself secure even in that remote inaccessible corner. Book X.
1552.

MAURICE entered Inspruck a few hours after the Emperor and his attendants had left it; and enraged that the prey should escape out of his hands when he was just ready to seize it, he pursued them some miles; but finding it impossible to overtake persons, to whom their fear gave speed, he returned to the town, and abandoned all the Emperor's baggage, together with that of his ministers, to be plundered by the soldiers; while he preserved untouched every thing belonging to the King of the Romans, either because he had formed some friendly connexion with that Prince, or because he wished to have it believed that such a connexion subsisted between them. As there now remained only three days to the commencement of the truce, (with such nicety had Maurice calculated his operations), he set out for Passau, that he might meet Ferdinand on the day appointed. Maurice enters that town.

BOOK X.

1552.

The Empe-
ror sets the
Elector of
Saxony at
liberty.

BEFORE Charles left Inspruck, he withdrew the guards placed on the degraded Elector of Saxony, whom, during five years, he had carried about with him as a prisoner; and set him entirely at liberty, either with an intention to embarrass Maurice by letting loose a rival, who might dispute his title to his dominions and dignity, or from a sense of the indecency of detaining him a prisoner, while he himself ran the risk of being deprived of his own liberty. But that Prince, seeing no other way of escaping than that which the Emperor took, and abhorring the thoughts of falling into the hands of a kinsman, whom he justly considered as the author of all his misfortunes, chose rather to accompany Charles in his flight, and to expect the final decision of his fate from the treaty which was now approaching.

The coun-
cil of Trent
breaks up in
great con-
sternation.

THESE were not the only effects which Maurice's operations produced. It was no sooner known at Trent that he had taken arms, than a general consternation seized the fathers of the council. The German prelates immediately returned home, that they might provide for the safety of their respective territories. The rest were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto disappointed all the endea-

vours of the Imperial ambassadors to procure an audience in the council for the Protestant divines, laid hold with joy on such a plausible pretext for dismissing an assembly, which he had found it so difficult to govern. In a congregation held on the twenty-eighth of April, a decree was issued proroguing the council during two years, and appointing it to meet at the expiration of that time, if peace were then re-established in Europe³⁷. This prorogation, however, continued no less than ten years; and the proceedings of the council, when re-assembled in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-two, fall not within the period prescribed to this history.

THE convocation of this assembly had been passionately desired by all the states and Princes in Christendom, who, from the wisdom as well as piety of prelates representing the whole body of the faithful, expected some charitable and efficacious endeavours towards composing the dissensions which unhappily had arisen in the church. But the several Popes by whose authority it was called, had other objects in view. They exerted all their power or policy to attain these; and by the abilities as well as address of their legates, by the ignorance of many of the

Book X.
1552.

The effect
of its de-
crees.

³⁷ F. Paul, 353.

BOOK X. prelates, and by the fervility of the indigent
 1552. Italian bishops, acquired such influence in the
 council, that they dictated all its decrees, and
 framed them, not with an intention to restore
 unity and concord to the church, but to establish
 their own dominion, or to confirm those tenets,
 upon which they imagined that dominion to be
 founded. Doctrines, which had hitherto been
 admitted upon the credit of tradition alone, and
 received with some latitude of interpretation,
 were now defined with a scrupulous nicety, and
 confirmed by the sanction of authority. Rites,
 which had formerly been observed only in de-
 ference to custom supposed to be ancient, were
 established by the decrees of the church, and
 declared to be essential parts of its worship.
 The breach, instead of being closed, was wi-
 dened, and made irreparable. In place of any
 attempt to reconcile the contending parties, a
 line was drawn with such studied accuracy, as
 ascertained and marked out the distinction be-
 tween them. This still serves to keep them at
 a distance; and, without some signal interpo-
 sition of Divine Providence, must render the
 separation perpetual.

Character
 of the histo-
 rians of this
 council.

OUR knowledge of the proceedings of this
 assembly, is derived from three different authors.
 Father Paul of Venice wrote his history of the

Council of Trent, while the memory of what had passed there was recent, and some who had been members of it were still alive. He has exposed the intrigues and artifices by which it was conducted, with a freedom and severity which have given a deep wound to the credit of the council. He has described its deliberations, and explained its decrees, with such perspicuity and depth of thought, with such various erudition and such force of reason, as have justly entitled his work to be placed among the most admired historical compositions. About half a century thereafter, the Jesuit Pallavicini published his history of the council, in opposition to that of Father Paul, and by employing all the force of an acute and refining genius to invalidate the credit, or to confute the reasonings of his antagonist, he labours to prove, by artful apologies for the proceedings of the council, and subtile interpretations of its decrees, that it deliberated with impartiality, and decided with judgment as well as candour. Vargas, a Spanish doctor of laws, who was appointed to attend the Imperial ambassadors at Trent, sent the bishop of Arras a regular account of the transactions there, explaining all the arts which the Legate employed to influence or over-awe the council. His letters have been published, in which he inveighs against the papal court with that asperity of censure, which was natural to a man whose situa-

Book X.

1552.

BOOK X. tion enabled him to observe its arts thoroughly,
 1552. and who was obliged to exert all his attention
 and talents in order to disappoint them. But
 whichever of these authors an intelligent per-
 son takes for his guide, in forming a judgment
 concerning the spirit of the council, he must dis-
 cover so much ambition as well as artifice among
 some of the members, so much ignorance and
 corruption among others; he must observe such
 a large infusion of human policy and passions,
 mingled with such a scanty portion of that sim-
 plicity of heart, sanctity of manners, and love
 of truth, which alone qualify men to determine
 what doctrines are worthy of God, and what
 worship is acceptable to him; that he will find
 it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordi-
 nary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over
 this assembly, and dictated its decrees.

The French
 endeavour
 to surprise
 Strasburgh;

WHILE Maurice was employed in negotiat-
 ing with the King of the Romans at Lintz, or
 in making war on the Emperor in the Tyrol,
 the French King had advanced into Alsace as
 far as Strasburgh; and having demanded leave
 of the Senate to march through the city, he
 hoped that, by repeating the same fraud which
 he had practised at Metz, he might render him-
 self master of the place, and by that means se-
 cure a passage over the Rhine into the heart of

Germany. But the Srasburghers, instructed and put on their guard by the credulity and misfortune of their neighbours, shut their gates; and having assembled a garrison of five thousand soldiers, repaired their fortifications, rased the houses in their suburbs, and determined to defend themselves to the utmost. At the same time they sent a deputation of their most respectable citizens to the King, in order to divert him from making any hostile attempt upon them. The Electors of Treves and Cologne, the Duke of Cleves, and other Princes in the neighbourhood, interposed in their behalf; beseeching Henry that he would not forget so soon the title which he had generously assumed; and instead of being the Deliverer of Germany, become its Oppressor. The Swiss Cantons seconded them with zeal, soliciting Henry to spare a city which had long been connected with their community in friendship and alliance. Book X.
1552.

POWERFUL as this united intercession was, it would not have prevailed on Henry to forego a prize of so much value, if he had been in a condition to have seized it. But, in that age, the method of subsisting numerous armies at a distance from the frontiers of their own country, was imperfectly understood, and neither the revenues of Princes, nor their experience in the

but without
success.

BOOK X. art of war, were equal to the great and complicated efforts which such an undertaking required. 1552. The French, though not far removed from their own country, began already to suffer from scarcity of provisions, and had no sufficient magazines collected to support them during a siege, which must necessarily have been of great length³⁸. At the same time, the Queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, had assembled a considerable body of troops, which, under the command of Martin de Rossem, laid waste Champagne, and threatened the adjacent provinces of France. These concurring circumstances obliged the King, though with reluctance, to abandon the enterprize. But being willing to acquire some merit with his allies, by this retreat which he could not avoid, he pretended to the Swiss that he had taken the resolution merely in compliance with their request³⁹; and then, after giving orders that all the horses in his army should be led to drink in the Rhine, as a proof of his having pushed his conquests so far, he marched back towards Champagne.

The operations of Albert of Brandenburg.

WHILE the French King and the main army of the confederates were thus employed, Albert of Brandenburg was entrusted with the command of a separate body of eight thousand men,

³⁸ Thuan. 351, 352.
tom. vii. 39.

³⁹ Sleid. 557. Brantome,

consisting chiefly of mercenaries who had re- Book X.
sorted to his standard, rather from the hope of 1552.
plunder, than the expectation of regular pay.
That Prince, seeing himself at the head of such
a number of desperate adventurers, ready to
follow wherever he should lead them, soon be-
gan to disdain a state of subordination, and to
form such vast schemes of aggrandizing himself,
as seldom occur, even to ambitious minds, unless
when civil war or violent factions rouse them
to bold exertions, by alluring them with imme-
diate hopes of success. Full of these aspiring
thoughts, Albert made war in a manner very
different, from the other confederates. He en-
deavoured to spread the terror of his arms by
the rapidity of his motions, as well as the ex-
tent and rigour of his devastations; he exacted
contributions wherever he came, in order to
amass such a sum of money, as would put it
in his power to keep his army together; he
laboured to get possession of Nuremberg, Ulm,
or some other of the free cities in Upper Ger-
many, in which, as a capital, he might fix the
seat of his power. But, finding these cities on
their guard, and in a condition to resist his at-
tacks, he turned all his rage against the popish
ecclesiasticks, whose territories he plundered
with such wanton and merciless barbarity, as
gave them a very unfavourable impression of

BOOK X. the spirit of that reformation in religion, with
 1552. zeal for which he pretended to be animated. The bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, by their situation, lay particularly exposed to his ravages; he obliged the former to transfer to him, in property, almost one half of his extensive diocese; and compelled the latter to advance an immense sum in order to save his country from ruin and desolation. During all those wild fallies, Albert paid no regard either to Maurice's orders, whose commands as Generalissimo of the league he had engaged to obey, or to the remonstrances of the other confederates; and manifestly discovered, that he attended only to his own private emolument, without any solicitude about the common cause, or the general objects which had induced them to take arms⁴⁰.

The negotiations of peace at Passau.

MAURICE having ordered his army to march back into Bavaria, and having published a proclamation enjoining the Lutheran clergy and instructors of youth, to resume the exercise of their functions in all the cities, schools, and universities from which they had been ejected, met Ferdinand at Passau on the twenty-sixth day of May. As matters of the greatest consequence to the future peace and independence of the

⁴⁰ Sleid. 561. Thuan. 357.

Empire were to be settled in this congress, the eyes of all Germany were fixed upon it. Besides Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors, the Duke of Bavaria, the bishops of Saltzburgh and Aichstadt, the ministers of all the Electors, together with deputies from most of the considerable Princes and free cities, resorted to Passau. Maurice, in name of his associates, and the King of the Romans as the Emperor's representative, opened the negociation. The Princes who were present, together with the deputies of such as were absent, acted as intercessors or mediators between them.

MAURICE, in a long discourse, explained the motives of his own conduct. After having enumerated all the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the Emperor's administration, he, agreeably to the manifesto which he had published when he took arms against him, limited his demands to three articles. That the Landgrave of Hesse should be immediately set at liberty; That the grievances in the civil government of the Empire should be redressed; and that the Protestants should be allowed the publick exercise of their religion without molestation. Ferdinand and the Imperial ambassadors discovering their unwillingness to gratify him with regard to all these points, the mediators wrote a joint letter

Book X.
1552.

The terms
which
Maurice
proposed.

BOOK X. to the Emperor, beseeching him to deliver Ger-
 1552. many from the calamities of a civil war, by giving such satisfaction to Maurice and his party as might induce them to lay down their arms; and at the same time they prevailed upon Maurice to grant a prolongation of the truce for a short time, during which they undertook to procure the Emperor's final answer to his demands.

Powerfully
 supported by
 the Princes
 of the Em-
 pire.

THIS request was presented to the Emperor in the name of all the Princes of the Empire, Popish as well as Protestant, in the name of such as had lent an helping hand to forward his ambitious schemes, as well as of those who had viewed the progress of his power with jealousy and dread. The uncommon and cordial unanimity with which they concurred at this juncture in enforcing Maurice's demands, and in recommending peace, flowed from different causes. Such as were most attached to the Roman catholic church could not help observing, that the Protestant confederates were at the head of a numerous army, while the Emperor was but just beginning to provide for his own defence. They foresaw that great efforts would be required of them, and would be necessary on their part, in order to cope with enemies, who had been allowed to get the start so far, and to attain such formidable power. Experience had taught

them, that the fruit of all these efforts would be reaped by the Emperor alone, and the more complete any victory proved which they should gain, the faster would they bind their own fetters, and render them the more intolerable. These reflections made them cautious how they contributed a second time, by their indiscreet zeal, to put the Emperor in possession of power which would be fatal to the liberties of their country. Notwithstanding the implacable fierceness of the spirit of bigotry in that age, they chose rather that the Protestants should acquire that security for their religion which they demanded, than by assisting Charles to oppress them, to give such additional force to the Imperial prerogative, as would overturn the constitution of the Empire. To all these considerations, the dread of seeing Germany laid waste by a civil war, added new force. Many states of the Empire already felt the destructive rage of Albert's arms, others dreaded it, and all wished for an accommodation between the Emperor and Maurice which they hoped would save them from that cruel scourge.

SUCH were the reasons that induced so many Princes, notwithstanding the variety of their political interests, and the opposition in their religious sentiments, to unite in recommending to the Emperor an accommodation with Maurice,

Book X.
1552.
The motives which influenced the Emperor at this juncture.

BOOK X. not only as a salutary, but as a necessary mea-
1552. sure. The motives which prompted Charles to
desire it, were not fewer or of less weight. He
was perfectly sensible of the superiority which
the confederates had acquired through his
own negligence; and he now felt the insuffi-
ciency of his own resources to oppose them.
His Spanish subjects, disgusted at his long ab-
sence, and weary of endless wars, which were of
no benefit to their country, refused to furnish
him any considerable supply either of men or
money; and although by his address or impor-
tunity, he might have hoped to draw from them
at last more effectual aid; that, he knew, was
too distant to be of any service in the present
exigency of his affairs. His treasury was drain-
ed; his veteran forces were dispersed, or dis-
banded, and he could not depend much either
on the fidelity or courage of the new levied sol-
diers whom he was collecting. There was no
hope of repeating with success the same artifices
which had weakened and ruined the Smalkaldick
league. As the end at which he aimed was now
known, he could no longer employ the specious
pretexts, which had formerly concealed his am-
bitious designs. Every Prince in Germany was
alarmed and on his guard; and it was vain to
think of blinding them a second time to such
a degree, as to make one part of them instru-
ments to enslave the other. The spirit of a

confederacy, whereof Maurice was the head, experience had taught him, to be very different from that of the league of Smalkalde; and from what he had already felt, he had no reason to flatter himself that its counsels would be as irresolute, or its efforts as timid and feeble. If he should resolve on continuing the war, he might be assured, that the most considerable states in Germany would take part in it against him; and a dubious neutrality was the utmost he could expect from the rest. While the confederates found full employment for his arms in one quarter, the King of France would seize the favourable opportunity, and push on his operations in another, with almost certain success. That monarch had already made conquests in the Empire, which he was no less eager to recover, than impatient to be revenged on him for aiding his malecontent subjects. Though Henry had now retired from the banks of the Rhine, he had only varied the scene of hostilities, having invaded the Low Countries with all his forces. The Turks, roused by the solicitations of the French King, as well as stimulated by resentment against Ferdinand for having violated the truce in Hungary, had prepared a powerful fleet to ravage the coasts of Naples and Sicily, which he had left almost defenceless, by calling thence the greatest part of the regular

BOOK X. troops to join the army which he was now assembling.
1552.

Ferdinand
zealous to
promote an
accommodation.

FERDINAND, who went in person to Villach, in order to lay before the Emperor the result of the conferences at Passau, had likewise reasons peculiar to himself for desiring an accommodation. These prompted him to second, with the greatest earnestness, the arguments which the Princes assembled there had employed in recommending it. He had observed, not without secret satisfaction, the fatal blow that had been given to the despotick power, which his brother had usurped in the Empire. He was extremely solicitous to prevent Charles from recovering what he had lost, as he foresaw that he would immediately resume with fresh eagerness, and with a better chance of success, his favourite scheme of transmitting that power to his son by excluding him from the right of succession to the Imperial throne. On this account, he was willing to contribute towards circumscribing the Imperial authority, in order to render his own possession of it certain. Besides, Solyman, exasperated at the loss of Transylvania, and still more at the fraudulent arts by which it had been seized, had ordered into the field an army of an hundred thousand men, which having defeated a great body of Ferdinand's

nand's troops, and taken several places of importance, threatened not only to complete the conquest of the province, but to drive him out of that part of Hungary which was still subject to his jurisdiction. He was unable to resist such a mighty enemy; his brother, while engaged in a domestick war, could afford him no aid; and he could not even hope to draw from Germany the contingent, either of troops or money, usually furnished to repel the invasions of the Infidels. Maurice, having observed Ferdinand's perplexity with regard to this last point, had offered, if peace were re-established on a secure foundation, that he would march in person with his troops into Hungary against the Turks. Such was the effect of this well-timed proposal, that Ferdinand, destitute of every other prospect of relief, became the most zealous advocate whom the confederates could have chosen to urge their claims, and there was hardly any thing that they could have demanded which he would not have chosen to grant, rather than have retarded a pacification, to which he trusted as the only means of saving his Hungarian crown.

WHEN so many causes conspired in rendering an accommodation eligible, it might have been expected that it would have taken place immediately. But the inflexibility of the Emperor's

Circumstances which retard it.

BOOK X. temper, together with his unwillingness at once
 1552. to relinquish objects which he had long pursued with such earnestness and assiduity, counterbalanced, for some time, the force of all the motives which disposed him to peace, and not only put that event at a distance, but seemed to render it uncertain. When Maurice's demands, together with the letter of the mediators at Passau, were presented to him, he peremptorily refused to redress the grievances which were pointed out, nor would he agree to any stipulation for the immediate security of the Protestant religion, but proposed referring both these to the determination of a future diet. On his part, he required, that instant reparation should be made to all who, during the present war, had suffered either by the licentiousness of the confederate troops, or the exactions of their leaders.

Maurice's
 vigorous
 operations
 facilitate it.

MAURICE, who was well acquainted with the Emperor's arts, immediately concluded that he had nothing in view by these overtures but to amuse and deceive; and therefore, without listening to Ferdinand's intreaties, he left Passau abruptly, and joining his troops which were encamped at Mergentheim, a city in Franconia, belonging to the knights of the Teutonic order, he put them in motion, and renewed hostilities. As three thousand men in the Emperor's pay

had thrown themselves into Frankfurt on the Maine, and might from thence infest the neighbouring country of Hesse, he marched towards that city and laid siege to it in form. The briskness of this enterprize, and the vigour with which Maurice carried on his approaches against the town, gave such an alarm to the Emperor, as disposed him to lend a more favourable ear to Ferdinand's arguments in behalf of an accommodation. Firm and haughty as his nature was, he found it necessary to bend, and signified his willingness to make concessions on his part, if Maurice in return, would abate somewhat of the rigour of his demands. Ferdinand, as soon as he perceived that his brother began to yield, did not desist from his importunities, until he prevailed on him to declare what was the utmost that he would grant for the security of the confederates. Having gained this difficult point, he instantly dispatched a messenger to Maurice's camp, and imparting to him the Emperor's final resolution, conjured him not to frustrate his endeavours for the re-establishment of peace, or, by an unseasonable obstinacy on his side, to disappoint the wishes of all Germany for that salutary event.

Book X.

1552.

July 17.

MAURICE, notwithstanding the prosperous situation of his affairs, was strongly inclined to listen to his advice. The Emperor, though

Maurice
desirous of
an accom-
modation.

BOOK X. over-reached and surprised, had now begun to
1552. assemble troops, and however slow his motions might be, while the first effects of his consternation remained, he was sensible that Charles must at last act with vigour proportional to the extent of his power and territories, and lead into Germany an army formidable by its numbers, and still more by the terror of his name, as well as the remembrance of his past victories. He could scarcely hope that a confederacy composed of so many members would continue to operate with sufficient union and perseverance to resist the consistent and well-directed efforts of an army at the absolute disposal of a leader accustomed to command and to conquer. He felt already, although he had not hitherto experienced the shock of any adverse event, that he was the head of a disjointed body. He saw, from the example of Albert of Brandenburg, how difficult it would be, with all his address and credit, to prevent any particular member from detaching himself from the whole, and how impossible to recal him to his proper rank and subordination. This filled him with apprehensions for the common cause. Another consideration gave him no less disquiet with regard to his own particular interests. By setting at liberty the degraded Elector, and by repealing the act depriving him of his hereditary honours

and dominions, the Emperor had it in his power BOOK X.
to wound him in the most sensible part. 1552. The
efforts of a Prince beloved by his ancient sub-
jects, and revered by all the Protestant party,
in order to recover what had been unjustly taken
from him, could hardly have failed of exciting
commotions in Saxony, which would endanger
all that he had acquired at the expence of so
much dissimulation and artifice. It was no less
in the Emperor's power to render vain all the
solicitations of the confederates in behalf of the
Landgrave. He had only to add one act of
violence more to the injustice and rigour with
which he had already treated him; and he had
accordingly threatened the sons of that unfortu-
nate Prince, that if they persisted in their pre-
sent enterprize, instead of seeing their father
restored to liberty, they should hear of his having
suffered the punishment which his rebellion had
merited⁴¹.

HAVING deliberated upon all these points The peace
of Religion
concluded
at Passau,
with his associates, Maurice thought it more
prudent to accept of the conditions offered,
though less advantageous than those which he
had proposed, than again to commit all to the
doubtful issue of war⁴². He repaired forthwith

⁴¹ Sleid. 571.
lib. x. 359, &c.

⁴² Sleid. Hist. 563, &c. Thuan.

BOOK X. to Passau, and signed the treaty of peace; of
1552. which the chief articles were: That before the
Aug. 2. twelfth day of August, the confederates shall
lay down their arms, and disband their forces;
That on or before that day the Landgrave shall
be set at Liberty, and conveyed in safety to his
castle of Rheinfels; That a diet shall be held
within six months, in order to deliberate con-
cerning the most proper and effectual method of
preventing for the future all disputes and dissen-
sions about religion; That, in the mean time
neither the Emperor, nor any other Prince, shall,
upon any pretext whatever, offer any injury or
violence to such as adhered to the confession of
Augsburgh, but allow them to enjoy the free
and undisturbed exercise of their religion; That
in return, the Protestants shall not molest the
Catholicks either in the exercise of their eccle-
siastical jurisdiction, or in performing their reli-
gious ceremonies; That the Imperial chamber
shall administer justice impartially to persons of
both parties, and Protestants be admitted indis-
criminately with the Catholicks to sit as judges
in that court; That if the next diet should not
be able to terminate the disputes with regard to
religion, the stipulations in the present treaty in
behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever
in full force and vigour; That none of the con-
federates shall be liable to any action on account

of what had happened during the course of the war; That the consideration of those encroachments which had been made, as Maurice pretended, upon the constitution and liberties of the Empire, shall be remitted to the approaching diet; That Albert of Brandenburg shall be comprehended in the treaty, provided he shall accede to it, and disband his forces before the twelfth of August". Book X.
1552.

SUCH was the memorable treaty of Passau, that overturned the vast fabrick, in erecting which Charles had employed so many years, and had exerted the utmost efforts of his power and policy; that annulled all his regulations with regard to religion; defeated all his hopes of rendering the Imperial authority absolute and hereditary in his family; and established the Protestant church, which had hitherto subsisted precariously in Germany, through connivance, or by expedients, upon a firm and secure basis. Maurice reaped all the glory of having concerted and completed this unexpected revolution. It is a singular circumstance, that the Reformation should be indebted for its security and full establishment in Germany, to the same hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of destruction, and that both events should

Reflections upon this peace and upon the conduct of Maurice.

" Recueil des Traités, ii. 261.

BOOK X. have been accomplished by the same arts of
 1552. dissimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice had in view, at those different junctures, seem to have been more attended to than the means by which he attained them; and he was now as universally extolled for his zeal and publick spirit, as he had lately been condemned for his indifference and interested policy. It is no less worthy of observation, that the French King, a monarch zealous for the Catholick faith, should employ his power in order to protect and maintain the Reformation in the Empire, at the very time when he was persecuting his own Protestant subjects with all the fierceness of bigotry, and that the league for this purpose, which proved so fatal to the Romish church, should be negociated and signed by a Roman Catholick bishop. So wonderful doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purposes.

Little attention paid to the French King in this treaty.

LITTLE attention was paid to the interests of the French King during the negotiations at Passau. Maurice and his associates, having gained what they had in view, discovered no great sollicitude about an ally, whom, perhaps, they reckoned to be overpaid for the assistance

which he had given them, by his acquisitions in Lorrain. A short clause which they procured to be inserted in the treaty, importing that the King of France might communicate to the confederates his particular pretensions or causes of hostility, which they would lay before the Emperor, was the only sign that they gave of their remembering how much they had been indebted to him for their success. Henry experienced the same treatment, which every Prince who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war may expect. As soon as the rage of faction began to subside, and any prospect of accommodation to open, his services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign, of the ingratitude with which they abandoned their protector. But how much soever Henry might be enraged at the perfidy of his allies, or at the impatience with which they hastened to make their peace with the Emperor at his expence, he was perfectly sensible that it was more his interest to keep well with the Germanick body, than to resent the indignities offered him by particular members of it. For that reason he dismissed the hostages which he had received from Maurice and his associates, and affected to talk in the same strain as formerly, concerning his zeal for maintaining the ancient constitution and liberties of the Empire.

BOOK X.
1552.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.
BOOK XI.

AS soon as the treaty of Passau was signed, Maurice, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, marched into Hungary at the head of twenty thousand men. But the vast superiority of the Turkish armies, the frequent mutinies both of the Spanish and German soldiers, occasioned by their want of pay, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, who was piqued at being obliged to resign the chief command to him, prevented his performing any thing in that country suitable to

BOOK XI.

1552.

Aug. 3.

Maurice
marches in-
to Hungary
against the
Turks.

BOOK XI. his former fame, or of great benefit to the King
1552. of the Romans¹.

The Land-
grave of
Hesse re-
covers his
liberty.

WHEN Maurice set out for Hungary, the Prince of Hesse parted from him with the forces under his command, and marched back into his own country, that he might be ready to receive his father upon his return, and give up to him the reins of government which he had held during his absence. But fortune was not yet weary of persecuting the Landgrave. A battalion of mercenary troops, which had been in the pay of Hesse, being seduced by Reifenberg their colonel, a foldier of fortune, ready to engage in any enterprize, secretly withdrew from the young Prince as he was marching homewards, and joined Albert of Brandenburg, who still continued in arms against the Emperor, refusing to be included in the treaty of Passau. Unhappily for the Landgrave, an account of this reached the Netherlands, just as he was dismissed from the citadel of Mechlin where he had been confined, but before he had got beyond the frontiers of that country. The Queen of Hungary, who governed there in her brother's name, incensed at such an open violation of the treaty to which he owed his liberty, commanded him to be

¹ Istuanhaffi Hist. Hungar. 288. Thuan. lib. x. 371.

arrested, and committed him again to the custody of the same Spanish captain who had guarded him for five years with such severe vigilance. Philip beheld all the horrors of his imprisonment renewed, and his spirits subsiding in the same proportion as they had risen during the short interval in which he had enjoyed liberty; he sunk into despair, and believed himself to be doomed to perpetual captivity. But the matter being explained to the Emperor's full satisfaction, that the revolt of Reifenberg's mercenaries could be imputed neither to the Landgrave nor to his son, he gave orders for his release; and Philip at last obtained the liberty for which he had so long languished². But though he recovered his freedom, and was reinstated in his dominions, his sufferings seem to have broken the vigour, and to have extinguished the activity of his mind: From being the boldest as well as most enterprising Prince in the Empire, he became the most timid and cautious, and passed the remainder of his days in a pacifick indolence.

THE degraded Elector of Saxony, likewise, procured his liberty in consequence of the treaty of Passau. The Emperor having been obliged to relinquish all his schemes for extirpating the Protestant religion, had no longer any motive

BOOK XL.

1552.

Likewise
the Elector
of Saxony.

² Sleid. 573. Belcarii Comment. 834.

BOOK XI. for detaining him a prisoner; and being ex-
 1552. tremely solicitous, at that juncture, to recover
 the confidence and good-will of the Germans,
 whose assistance was essential to the success of
 the enterprize which he meditated against the
 King of France, he, among other expedients
 for that purpose, thought of releasing from im-
 prisonment a Prince whose merit entitled him no
 less to esteem, than his sufferings rendered him
 the object of compassion. John Frederick took
 possession accordingly of that part of his terri-
 tories which had been reserved for him, when
 Maurice was invested with the Electoral dignity.
 As in this situation, he continued to display
 the same virtuous magnanimity for which he had
 been conspicuous in a more prosperous and splen-
 did state, and which he had retained amidst all
 his sufferings, he lived several years in that high
 reputation to which he had so just a title.

The Empe-
 ror resolves
 to make
 war upon
 France.

THE loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, had
 made a deep impression on the Emperor. Ac-
 customed to terminate all his operations against
 France with advantage to himself, he thought
 that it nearly concerned his honour not to allow
 Henry the superiority in this war, or to suffer
 his own administration to be stained with the
 infamy of having permitted territories of such
 consequence to be dismembered from the Em-

pire. This was no less a point of interest than Book XL.
of honour. As the frontier of Champagne was 1552.
more naked, and lay more exposed than that of
any province in France, he had frequently, du-
ring his wars with that kingdom, made inroads
upon it with great success and effect; but if
Henry were allowed to retain his late conquests,
France would gain such a formidable barrier on
that side, as to be altogether secure, where for-
merly she had been weakest. On the other
hand, the Empire had now lost as much, in
point of security, as France had acquired; and
being stripped of the defence which those cities
afforded it, lay open to be invaded on a quarter,
where all the towns having been hitherto con-
sidered as interior, and remote from any enemy,
were but slightly fortified. These considerations
determined Charles to attempt recovering the
three towns of which Henry had made himself
master; and the preparations which he had made
against Maurice and his associates, enabled him
to carry his resolution into immediate execu-
tion.

As soon, then, as the peace was concluded at His prepara-
Passau, he left his inglorious retreat at Villach, tions for
and advanced to Augsburgh, at the head of a this purpose.
considerable body of Germans which he had
levied, together with all the troops which he had

BOOK XI. drawn out of Italy and Spain. To these he
 1552. added several battalions, which having been in
 the pay of the confederates, entered into his
 service when dismissed by them; and he pre-
 vailed likewise on some princes of the Em-
 pire to join him with their vassals. In order
 to conceal the destination of this formidable
 army, and to guard against alarming the French,
 so as to put them on preparing for their de-
 fence, he gave out that he was to march forth-
 with into Hungary, in order to second Maurice
 in his operations against the Infidels. When
 he began to advance towards the Rhine, and
 could no longer employ that pretext, he tried
 a new artifice, and spread a report, that he took
 this route in order to chastise Albert of Branden-
 burgh, whose cruel exactions in that part of the
 Empire called loudly for his interposition to
 check them.

The precau-
 tions of the
 French for
 the defence
 of Metz.

BUT the French having grown acquainted,
 at last, with arts by which they had been so
 often deceived, viewed all Charles's motions
 with distrust. Henry immediately discerned the
 true object of his vast preparations, and resolved
 to defend the important conquests which he had
 gained with vigour equal to that with which they
 were about to be attacked. As he foresaw that
 the whole weight of the war would be turned
 against

against Metz, by whose fate that of Toul and Verdun would be determined, he nominated Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, to take the command in that city during the siege, the issue of which would equally affect the honour and interest of his country. His choice could not have fallen upon any person more worthy of that trust. The Duke of Guise possessed, in a high degree, all the talents of courage, sagacity and presence of mind, which render men eminent in military command. He was largely endowed with that magnanimity of soul which delights in bold enterprizes, and aspires to fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station assigned him, as to a theatre on which he might display his great qualities under the immediate eye of his countrymen, all ready to applaud him. The martial genius of the French nobility in that age, which considered it as the greatest reproach to remain inactive, when there was any opportunity of signaling their courage, prompted great numbers to follow a leader who was the darling as well as the pattern of every one that courted military fame. Several Princes of the blood, many noblemen of the highest rank, and all the young officers who could obtain the King's permission, entered Metz as volunteers. By their presence they added spirit to the garrison, and

1552.

The Duke of Guise appointed governor of the town.

BOOK XI. enabled the Duke of Guise to employ, on every
1552. emergency, persons eager to distinguish themselves, and fit to conduct any service.

Prepares for
a vigorous
defence.

BUT with whatever alacrity the Duke of Guise undertook the defence of Metz, he found every thing, upon his arrival there, in such a situation, as might have induced any person of less intrepid courage to despair of defending it with success. The city was of great extent, with large suburbs; the walls were in many places feeble and without ramparts; the ditch narrow; and the old towers, which projected instead of bastions, were at too great distance from each other to defend the space between them. For all these defects he endeavoured to provide the best remedy, which the time would permit. He ordered the suburbs, without sparing the monasteries or churches, not even that of St. Arnulph, in which several Kings of France had been buried, to be levelled with the ground; but in order to guard against the imputation of impiety, to which such a violation of so many sacred edifices, as well as of the ashes of the dead might expose him, he executed this with much religious ceremony. Having ordered all the holy vestments and utensils, together with the bones of the Kings, and other persons deposited in these churches, to be removed, they were carried in solemn procession to a church within the walls, he himself walking

before them uncovered, with a torch in his hand. BOOK XI.

He then pulled down such houses as stood near 1552.

the walls, cleared and enlarged the ditch, repaired the ruinous fortifications, and erected new ones. As it was necessary that all these works should be finished with the utmost expedition, he laboured at them with his own hands: the officers and volunteers imitated his example, and the soldiers submitted with cheerfulness to the most severe fatigues, when they saw that their superiors did not decline to bear a part in these together with them. At the same time he compelled all useless persons to leave the place; he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores; burnt the mills, and destroyed the corn and forage for several miles round the town. Such were his popular talents, as well as his arts, of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens seconded him with no less ardour than the soldiers; and every other passion being swallowed up in the zeal to repulse the enemy, with which he inspired them, they beheld the ruin of their estates, together with the havock which he made among their publick and private buildings, without any emotion of resentment³.

MEANTIME the Emperor, having collected Charles advances to
all his forces, continued his march towards wards Metz.

³ Thuan. xi. 387.

BOOK XI. Metz. As he passed through the cities on the
 1552. Rhine, he saw the dismal effects of that licentious and wasteful war which Albert had carried on in these parts. Upon his approach, that Prince, though at the head of twenty thousand men, withdrew into Lorraine as if he had intended to join the French King, whose arms he had quartered with his own in all his standards and ensigns. Albert was not in a condition to cope with the Imperial troops⁴, which amounted at least to sixty thousand men, forming one of the most numerous and best appointed armies which had been brought into the field during that age, in any of the wars among Christian Princes.

Invests the
 town.

THE chief command, under the Emperor, was committed to the Duke of Alva, assisted by the Marquis de Marignano, together with the most experienced of the Italian and Spanish generals. As it was towards the end of October, these intelligent officers represented the great danger of beginning, at such an advanced season, a siege which could not fail to prove very tedious. But Charles adhered to his own opinions with his usual obstinacy, and being confident that he had made such preparations, and taken such precautions, as would ensure success, he ordered

⁴ Natal. Comit. Hist. 127.

the city to be invested. As soon as the Duke of Alva appeared, a large body of the French sallied out and attacked his van-guard with great vigour, put it in confusion, and killed or took prisoners a considerable number of men. By this early specimen which they gave of the conduct of their officers, as well as the valour of their troops, they shewed the Imperialists what an enemy they had to encounter, and how dear every advantage must cost them. The place, however, was completely invested, the trenches were opened, and the other works begun.

THE attention both of the besiegers and besieged was turned for some time towards Albert of Brandenburg, and they strove with emulation which should gain that Prince, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, fluctuating in all the uncertainty of irresolution, natural to a man, who, being swayed by no principle, was allured different ways by contrary views of interest. The French tempted him with offers extremely beneficial; the Imperialists scrupled at no promise which they thought would make an impression upon him. After much hesitation he was gained by the Emperor, from whom he expected to receive advantages, which were both more immediate and more permanent. As the French King, who began to suspect his in-

Both parties endeavour to gain Albert of Brandenburg.

BOOK XI. tentions, had appointed a body of troops under
 1552. the Duke of Aumale, brother to the Duke of
 Guise, to watch his motions, Albert fell upon
 them unexpectedly with such vigour that he
 Nov. 4. routed them entirely, killed many of the offi-
 cers, wounded Aumale himself, and took him
 prisoner. Immediately after this victory, he
 marched in triumph to Metz, and joined his
 army to that of the Emperor. Charles, in
 reward for this service, and the great accession
 of strength which he brought him, granted
 Albert a formal pardon of all past offences, and
 confirmed him in the possession of the territories
 which he had violently usurped during the war^s.

The gallant
 behaviour
 of the Duke
 of Guise
 and his gar-
 rison.

THE Duke of Guise, though deeply affected
 with his brother's misfortune, did not remit, in
 any degree, the vigour with which he defended
 the town. He harassed the besiegers by fre-
 quent sallies, in which his officers were so eager
 to distinguish themselves, that his authority
 being hardly sufficient to restrain the impe-
 tuosity of their courage, he was obliged at dif-
 ferent times to shut the gates, and to conceal
 the keys, in order to prevent the Princes of the
 blood, and noblemen of the first rank, from
 exposing themselves to danger in every sally.
 He repaired in the night what the enemy's
 artillery had beat down during the day, or

^s Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389. 392.

erected behind the ruined works new fortifications of almost equal strength. The Imperialists, on their part, pushed on the attack with great spirit, and carried forward, at once, approaches against different parts of the town. But the art of attacking fortified places was not then arrived at that degree of perfection to which it was carried towards the close of the sixteenth century, during the long war in the Netherlands. The besiegers, after the unwearied labour of many weeks, found that they had made but little progress; and although their batteries had made breaches in different places, they saw, to their astonishment, works suddenly appear, in demolishing which their fatigues and dangers would be renewed. The Emperor, enraged at the obstinate resistance which his army met with, left Thionville, where he had been confined by a violent fit of the gout, and though still so infirm that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he repaired to the camp; that by his presence he might animate the soldiers, and urge on the attack with greater spirit. Upon his arrival new batteries were erected, and new efforts were made with redoubled ardour. Book XI.
1552.

BUT, by this time, the winter had set in with great rigour; the camp was alternately deluged with rain or covered with snow; at the same The distress
of the Im-
perial army.

BOOK XI. time provisions were become extremely scarce,
1552. as a body of French cavalry which hovered in the neighbourhood, often interrupted the convoys, or rendered their arrival difficult and uncertain. Diseases began to spread among the soldiers, especially among the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to such inclement weather; great numbers were disabled from serving, and many died. At length, such breaches were made as seemed practicable, and Charles resolved to hazard a general assault, in spite of all the remonstrances of his generals concerning the imprudence of attacking a numerous garrison, conducted and animated by the most gallant of the French nobility, with an army weakened by diseases, and disheartened with ill success. The Duke of Guise, suspecting the Emperor's intentions from the extraordinary hurry which he observed in the enemy's camp, ordered all his troops to their respective posts. They appeared immediately on the walls, and behind the breaches, with such a determined countenance, so eager for the combat, and so well prepared to give the assailants a warm reception, that the Imperialists, instead of advancing to the charge when the word of command was given, stood motionless, in a timid dejected silence. The Emperor, perceiving that he could not trust troops whose spirits were so much broken, retired abruptly to his quarters, com-

plaining that he was now deserted by his soldiers, who deserved no longer the name of men⁶. BOOK X.
1552.

DEEPLY as this behaviour of his troops mortified and affected Charles, he would not hear of abandoning the siege, though he saw the necessity of changing the method of attack. He suspended the fury of his batteries, and proposed to proceed by the more secure but tedious method of sapping. But as it still continued to rain or to snow almost incessantly, such as were employed in this service endured incredible hardships: and the Duke of Guise, whose industry was not inferior to his valour, discovering all their mines, counterworked them, and prevented their effect. At last, Charles finding it impossible to contend any longer with the rigour of the season, and with enemies whom he could neither overpower by force, nor subdue by art, while at the same time a contagious distemper raged among his troops, and cut off daily great numbers of the officers as well as soldiers, yielded to the solicitations of his generals, who conjured him to save the remains of his army by a timely retreat; "Fortune," says he, "I now perceive, resembles other females, and chooses to confer her favours on young men, while she forsakes those who are advanced in years."

⁶ Thuan. 397.

BOOK XI.

1552.

Dec. 26.

Obliged to
raise the
siege.

UPON this, he gave orders immediately to raise the siege, and submitted to the disgrace of abandoning the enterprize, after having continued fifty-six days before the town, during which time he had lost upwards of thirty thousand men, who died of diseases, or were killed by the enemy. The Duke of Guise, as soon as he perceived the intention of the Imperialists, took measures to prevent their retiring unmolested, and sent out several bodies both of cavalry and infantry to infest their rear, to pick up stragglers, and to seize every opportunity of attacking them with advantage. Such was the confusion with which they made their retreat, that the French might have annoyed them in the most cruel manner. But when they fallied

Ruin of the
Imperial
army, and
humanity of
the French.

out, a spectacle presented itself to their view, which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into tenderness and compassion. The Imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. In all the different roads by which the army retired, numbers were found, who, having made an effort to escape, beyond their strength, were left, when they could go no farther, to perish without assistance. This they received from their enemies, and were indebted to them for all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform. The Duke of Guise imme-

diately ordered proper refreshments for such as were dying of hunger; he appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; he removed such as could bear it into the adjacent villages; and those who would have suffered by being carried so far, he admitted into the hospitals which he had fitted up in the city for his own soldiers. As soon as they recovered, he sent them home under an escort of soldiers, and with money to bear their charges. By these acts of humanity, which were uncommon in that age, when war was carried on with greater rancour and ferocity than at present, the Duke of Guise completed the fame which he had acquired by his gallant and successful defence of Metz, and engaged those whom he had vanquished to vie with his own countrymen in extolling his name⁷.

To these calamities in Germany, were added such unfortunate events in Italy, as rendered this the most disastrous year in the Emperor's life. During his residence at Villach, Charles had applied to Cosmo di Medici for the loan of two hundred thousand crowns. But his

Bad situation of the Emperor's affairs in Italy.

⁷ Sleid. 575. Thuan. lib. xi. 389, &c. Pere Daniel, Hist. de France, tom. iii. 392. Pere Daniel's account of this siege is taken from the journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was present. Natal. Comit. Histor. 129.

BOOK XI. credit at that time was so low, that in order to
 1552. obtain this inconsiderable sum, he was obliged to put him in possession of the principality of Piombino, and by giving up that, he lost the footing which he had hitherto maintained in Tuscany, and enabled Cosmo to assume, for the future, the tone and deportment of a Prince altogether independent. Much about the time that his indigence constrained him to part with this valuable territory, he lost Siena, which was of still greater consequence, through the ill conduct of Don Diego de Mendoza*.

The revolt
 of Siena.

SIENA, like most of the great cities in Italy, had long enjoyed a republican government, under the protection of the Empire; but being torn in pieces by the dissensions between the nobility and the people, which divided all the Italian commonwealths, the faction of the people, which gained the ascendant, besought the Emperor to become the guardian of the administration which they had established, and admitted into their city a small body of Spanish soldiers, whom he had sent to countenance the execution of the laws, and to preserve tranquillity among them. The direction of these troops was given to Mendoza, at that time ambassador for the Emperor at Rome, who per-

* Thuan. lib. xi. 376.

suaded the credulous multitude, that it was necessary for their security against any future attempt of the nobles, to allow him to build a citadel in Siena; and as he flattered himself that by means of this fortress he might render the Emperor master of the city, he pushed on the works with all possible dispatch. But he threw off the mask too soon. Before the fortifications were completed, he began to indulge his natural haughtiness and severity of temper, and to treat the citizens with great insolence. At the same time the soldiers in garrison being paid as irregularly as the Emperor's troops usually were, lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants, and were guilty of many acts of licence and oppression.

THESE injuries awakened the Sienese to a sense of their danger. As they saw the necessity of exerting themselves, while the unfinished fortifications of the citadel left them any hopes of success, they applied to the French ambassador at Rome, who readily promised them his master's protection and assistance. At the same time, forgetting their domestick animosities when such a mortal blow was aimed at the liberty and existence of the republick, they sent agents to the exiled nobles, and invited them to concur with them in saving their country from the ser-

The Sienese court the assistance of France.

1552.

BOOK XI. vitude with which it was threatened. As there
 1552. was not a moment to lose, measures were concerted speedily, but with great prudence; and were executed with equal vigour. The citizens rose suddenly in arms; the exiles flocked into the town from different parts with all their partisans, and what troops they could draw together; and several bodies of mercenaries in the pay of France appeared to support them. The Spaniards, though surpris'd, and much inferior in number, defended themselves with great courage; but seeing no prospect of relief, and having no hopes of maintaining their station long in a half-finished fortress, they soon gave it up. The Sienese, with the utmost alacrity, levelled it with the ground, that no monument might remain of that odious structure, which had been rais'd in order to enslave them. At the same time renouncing all connexion with the Emperor, they sent ambassadors to thank the King of France as the restorer of their liberty, and to entreat that he would secure to them the perpetual enjoyment of that blessing by continuing his protection to their republick⁹.

Descent of
 the Turks
 in the king-

To these misfortunes, one still more fatal had almost succeeded. The severe administration

⁹ Pecçi, *Memorie di Siena*, vol. iii. p. 230. 261. Thuan. 375. 377, &c. Paruta, *Hist. Venet.* 267. *Mém. de Ribier*, 424, &c.

of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, Book XI. having filled that kingdom with murmuring and 1552. disaffection, the Prince of Salerno, the head of ^{dom of} the malecontents, had fled to the court of ^{Naples.} France, where all who bore ill-will to the Emperor or his ministers, were sure of finding protection and assistance. That nobleman, in the usual style of exiles, boasting much of his partisans, and of his great influence with them, prevailed on Henry to think of invading Naples, from expectation of being joined by all those with whom the Prince of Salerno held correspondence, or who were dissatisfied with Toledo's government. But though the first hint of this enterprize was suggested by the Prince of Salerno, Henry did not choose that its success should entirely depend upon his being able to fulfil the promises which he had made. He applied for aid to Solyman, whom he courted, after his father's example, as his most vigorous auxiliary against the Emperor, and solicited him to second his operations by sending a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean. It was not difficult to obtain what he requested of the Sultan, who, at this time, was highly incensed against the house of Austria, on account of the proceedings in Hungary. He ordered an hundred and fifty ships to be equipped, that they might sail towards the coast of Naples, at what-

BOOK XI. ever time Henry should name, and might co-
 1552. operate with the French troops in their attempts
 upon that kingdom. The command of this
 fleet was given to the corsair Dragut, an officer
 trained up under Barbarossa, and scarcely in-
 ferior to his master in courage, in talents, or in
 good fortune. He appeared on the coast of
 Calabria at the time which had been agreed on,
 landed at several places, plundered and burnt
 several villages; and at last casting anchor in
 the bay of Naples, filled that city with conster-
 nation. But as the French fleet, detained by
 some accident, which the contemporary histo-
 rians have not explained, did not join the Turks
 according to concert, they, after waiting twenty
 days, without hearing any tidings of it, set sail
 for Constantinople, and thus delivered the vice-
 roy of Naples from the terror of an invasion,
 which he was in no condition to have resisted¹⁰.

1553. As the French had never given so severe a
 The Empe- check to the Emperor in any former campaign,
 ror sensibly they expressed immoderate joy at the success of
 affected with their arms. Charles himself, accustomed to a
 the state of long series of prosperity, felt the blow most sen-
 his affairs. sibly, and retired from Metz into the Low Coun-
 tries, much dejected with the cruel reverse of
 fortune which affected him in his declining age,

¹⁰ Thuan. 375. 380. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 403. Gianone.
 when

when the violence of the gout had increased to such a pitch, as entirely broke the vigour of his constitution, and rendered him peevish, difficult of access, and often incapable of applying to business. But whenever he enjoyed any interval of ease, all his thoughts were bent on revenge; and he deliberated, with the utmost solicitude, concerning the most proper means of annoying France, and of effacing the stain which had obscured the reputation and glory of his arms. All the schemes concerning Germany, which had engrossed him so long, being disconcerted by the peace of Passau, the affairs of the Empire became only secondary objects of attention; and enmity to France was the predominant passion which chiefly occupied his mind.

THE turbulent ambition of Albert of Brandenburg excited violent commotions, which disturbed the Empire during this year. That Prince's troops having shared in the calamities of the siege of Metz, were greatly reduced in number. But the Emperor, prompted by gratitude for his distinguished services on that occasion, or perhaps with a secret view of fomenting divisions among the Princes of the Empire, having paid up all the money due to him, he was enabled with that sum to hire so many of

BOOK XI.
1553.

The violent
proceedings
of Albert of
Branden-
burgh.

BOOK XI. the soldiers dismissed from the Imperial army,
1553. that he was soon at the head of a body of men
as numerous as ever. The bishops of Bam-
berg and Wurtzburgh having solicited the Im-
perial chamber, to annul, by its authority, the
iniquitous conditions which Albert had com-
pelled them to sign, that court unanimously
found all their engagements with him to be
void in their own nature, because they had been
extorted by force; enjoined Albert to renounce
all claim to the performance of them; and, if
he should persist in such an unjust demand, ex-
horted all the Princes of the Empire to take
arms against him as a disturber of the publick
tranquillity. To this decision, Albert opposed
the confirmation of his transactions with the two
prelates, which the Emperor had granted him
as the reward of his having joined the Imperial
army at Metz; and in order to intimidate his
antagonists, as well as to convince them of his
resolution not to relinquish his pretensions, he
put his troops in motion, that he might secure
the territory in question. Various endeavours
were employed, and many expedients proposed,
in order to prevent the kindling a new war in
Germany. But the same warmth of temper
which rendered Albert turbulent and enterpriz-
ing, inspiring him with the most sanguine hopes

of success, even in his wildest undertakings, he Book XI.
disdainfully rejected all reasonable overtures of 1553.
accommodation.

UPON this, the Imperial chamber issued its He is con-
decree against him, and required the Elector of demned by
Saxony, together with several other Princes the Imperial
mentioned by name, to take arms in order to chambers
carry it into execution. Maurice, and those
associated with him, were not unwilling to un-
dertake this service. They were extremely soli-
citous to maintain publick order by supporting
the authority of the Imperial chamber, and
saw the necessity of giving a timely check to the
usurpations of an ambitious Prince, who had no
principle of action but regard to his own in-
terest, and no motive to direct him but the im-
pulse of ungovernable passions. They had good
reason to suspect, that the Emperor encouraged
Albert in his extravagant and irregular proceed-
ings, and secretly afforded him assistance, that,
by raising him up to rival Maurice in power,
he might, in any future broil, make use of his
assistance to counterbalance and control the
authority which the other had acquired in the
Empire¹¹.

¹¹ Sleid. 585. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 442. Arnoldi vita
Maurit. ap. Menken, 1242.

BOOK XI.

1553.

April 2.

A confederacy formed against him, of which Maurice was head.

THESE considerations united the most powerful Princes in Germany in a league against Albert, of which Maurice was declared generalissimo. This formidable confederacy, however, wrought no change in Albert's sentiments; but as he knew that he could not resist so many Princes, if he should allow them time to assemble their forces, he endeavoured, by his activity, to deprive them of all the advantages which they might derive from their united power and numbers; and for that reason marched directly against Maurice, the enemy whom he dreaded most. It was happy for the allies, that the conduct of their affairs was committed to a Prince of such abilities. He, by his authority and example, had inspired them with vigour; and having carried on their preparations with a degree of rapidity, of which confederate bodies are seldom capable, he was in condition to face Albert before he could make any considerable progress.

He attacks Albert,

THEIR armies, which were nearly equal in number, each consisting of twenty-four thousand men, met at Sieverhausen, in the dutchy of Lunenburgh; and the violent animosity against each other, which possessed the two leaders, did not suffer them to continue long inactive. The troops inflamed with the same hostile rage,

marched fiercely to the combat; they fought with the greatest obstinacy; and as both generals were capable of availing themselves of every favourable occurrence, the battle remained long doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately. At last victory declared for Maurice, who was superior in cavalry, and Albert's army fled in confusion, leaving four thousand dead in the field, and their camp, baggage and artillery, in the hands of the conquerors. The allies bought their victory dear, their best troops suffered greatly, two sons of the Duke of Brunswick, a Duke of Lunenburgh, and many other persons of distinction, were among the number of the slain¹². But all these were soon forgotten; for Maurice himself, as he led up to a second charge a body of horse which had been broken, received a wound with a pistol-bullet in the belly, of which he died two days after the battle, in the thirty-second year of his age, and in the sixth after his attaining the electoral dignity.

Book XI.

1553.

June 9.

and defeats his army;

but is killed in the battle.

OF all the personages who have appeared in the history of this active age, when great occurrences, and sudden revolutions, called forth extraordinary talents to view, and afforded them

His character.

¹² Historia pugnae infelicis inter Mauriti. & Albert. Thom. Wintzero auctore apud Scard. ii. 559. Sleid. 583. Russellii epistres aux Princes, 154. Arnoldi vita Mauriti. 1245.

BOOK XI, full opportunity to display themselves, Maurice
1553. may justly be considered as the most remarkable.
If his exorbitant ambition, his profound dissimulation, and his unwarrantable usurpation of his kinsman's honours and dominions, exclude him from being praised as a virtuous man; his prudence in concerting his measures, his vigour in executing them, and the uniform success with which they were attended, entitle him to the appellation of a great Prince. At an age, when impetuosity of spirit commonly, predominates over political wisdom, when the highest effort even of a genius of the first order is to fix on a bold scheme, and to execute it with promptitude and courage, he formed and conducted an intricate plan of policy, which deceived the most artful Monarch in Europe. At the very juncture when the Emperor had attained to almost unlimited despotism, Maurice, with power seemingly inadequate to such an undertaking, compelled him to relinquish all his usurpations, and established not only the religious but civil liberties of Germany on such foundations as have hitherto remained unshaken. Although, at one period of his life, his conduct excited the jealousy of the Protestants, and at another, drew on him the resentment of the Roman Catholics, such was his masterly address, that he was the only Prince of the age who, in any degree, possessed

the confidence of both, and whom both lamented Book XI.
as the most able as well as faithful guardian of 1553.
the constitution and laws of his country.

THE consternation which Maurice's death occasioned among his troops, prevented them from making the proper improvement of the victory which they had gained. Albert, whose active courage, and profuse liberality, rendered him the darling of such military adventurers as were little solicitous about the justice of his cause, soon re-assembled his broken forces, and made fresh levies with such success, that he was quickly at the head of fifteen thousand men, and renewed his depredations with additional fury. But Henry of Brunswick having taken the command of the allied troops, defeated him in a second battle, scarcely less bloody than the former. Even then his courage did not sink, nor were his resources exhausted. He made several efforts, and some of them very vigorous, to retrieve his affairs: But being laid under the ban of the Empire by the Imperial chamber; being driven by degrees out of all his hereditary territories, as well as those which he had usurped; being forsaken by many of his officers, and overpowered by the number of his enemies, he fled for refuge into France. After having been, for a considerable time, the terror and scourge of Germany, he lingered out some years in an

Albert continues the war.

Sept. 12.

He is driven out of Germany.

BOOK XI. indigent and dependant state of exile, the miseries of which his restless and arrogant spirit endured with the most indignant impatience.

1553. Upon his death without issue, his territories, which had been seized by the Princes who took arms against him were restored, by a decree of the Emperor, to his collateral heirs of the house of Brandenburg¹³.

Maurice's
brother Augustus succeeds him in the electoral dignity.

MAURICE having left only one daughter, who was afterwards married to William Prince of Orange, by whom she had a son who bore his grandfather's name, and inherited the great talents for which he was conspicuous, a violent dispute arose concerning the succession to his honours and territories. John Frederick, the degraded Elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial estate of which he had been violently stripped after the Smalkaldick war. Augustus, Maurice's only brother, pleaded his right not only to the hereditary possessions of their family, but to the electoral dignity, and to the territories which Maurice had acquired. As Augustus was a Prince of considerable abilities, as well as of great candour and gentleness of manners, the states of Saxony, forgetting the merits and sufferings of their former master, declared warmly in his favour. His

¹³ Sleid. 592. 594. 599; Struv. Corp. hist. Germ. 1075.

pretensions were powerfully supported by the King of Denmark, whose daughter he had married, and zealously espoused by the King of the Romans, out of regard to Maurice's memory. The degraded Elector, though secretly favoured by his ancient enemy the Emperor, was at last obliged to relinquish his claim, upon obtaining a small addition to the territories which had been allotted to him, together with a stipulation, securing to his family the eventual succession, upon a failure of male heirs in the Albertine line. That unfortunate, but magnanimous Prince died next year, soon after ratifying this treaty of agreement; and the electoral dignity is still possessed by the descendants of Augustus¹⁴.

BOOK XI.

1553.

DURING these transactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigour. The Emperor, impatient to efface the stain which his ignominious repulse at Metz left upon his military reputation, had an army early in the field, and laid siege to Terouane. Though the town was of such importance, that Francis used to call it one of the two pillows on which a King of France might sleep with security, the fortifications were in disrepair: Henry, trusting to what had happened at Metz, thought nothing more was necessary to render

Hostilities
in the Low
Countries.

¹⁴ Sleid. 587. Thuan. 409. Struv. Corp. hist. Germ.

BOOK XI. all the efforts of the enemy abortive, than to
 1553. reinforce the garrison with a considerable number of the young nobility. But d'Essé, a veteran officer who commanded them, being killed, and the Imperialists pushing the siege with great vigour and perseverance, the place was taken by assault. That it might not fall again into the hands of the French, Charles ordered not only the fortifications but the town to be rased, and the inhabitants to be dispersed in the adjacent cities. Elated with this success, the Imperialists immediately invested Hesdin, which, though defended with great bravery, was likewise taken by assault, and such of the garrison as escaped the sword were made prisoners. The Emperor entrusted the conduct of this siege to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, who, on that occasion, gave the first display of those great talents for military command, which soon entitled him to be ranked among the first generals of the age, and facilitated his re-establishment in his hereditary dominions, the greater part of which having been over-run by Francis in his expeditions into Italy, were still occupied by Henry¹⁵.

The progress
 of the Imperialists

THE loss of these towns, together with so many persons of distinction, either killed or

¹⁵ Thuan. 411. Haræi Annales Brabant. 669.

taken by the enemy, was no inconsiderable calamity to France, and Henry felt it very sensibly; but he was still more mortified at the Emperor's having assumed his wonted superiority in the field so soon after the blow at Metz, which the French had represented as fatal to his power. He was ashamed, too, of his own remissness and excessive security at the opening of the campaign; and, in order to repair that error, he assembled a numerous army, and led it into the Low Countries.

BOOK XL
1553.
disquiets the
French
King.

ROUSED at the approach of such a formidable enemy, Charles left Brussels, where he had been shut up so closely during seven months, that it came to be believed in many parts of Europe that he was dead; and though he was so much debilitated by the gout that he could hardly bear the motion of a litter, he hastened to join his army. The eyes of all Europe were turned with expectation towards those mighty and exasperated rivals, between whom a decisive battle was now thought unavoidable. But Charles having prudently declined to hazard a general engagement, and the violence of the autumnal rains rendering it impossible for the French to undertake any siege, they retired, without having performed any thing suitable to the great preparations which they had made¹⁶.

¹⁶ Haræus, 672. Thuan. 414.

BOOK XI.

1553.

The Imperialists unsuccessful in Italy,

THE Imperial arms did not make the same progress in Italy. The narrowness of the Emperor's finances seldom allowed him to act with vigour in two different places at the same time; and having exerted himself to the utmost in order to make a great effort in the Low Countries, his operations on the other side of the Alps were proportionally feeble. The viceroy of Naples, in conjunction with Cosmo di Medici, who was greatly alarmed at the introduction of French troops into Siena, endeavoured to become master of that city. But, instead of reducing the Sienese, the Imperialists were obliged to retire abruptly, in order to defend their own country, upon the appearance of the Turkish fleet, which threatened the coast of Naples; and the French not only established themselves more firmly in Tuscany, but, by the assistance of the Turks, conquered a great part of the island of Corsica, subject, at that time, to the Genoese¹⁷.

and in Hungary.

THE affairs of the house of Austria declined no less in Hungary during the course of this year. As the troops which Ferdinand kept in Transylvania received their pay very irregularly, they lived almost at discretion upon the inhabitants; and their insolence and rapaciousness

¹⁷ Thuan. 417.

greatly disgusted all ranks of men, and alienated them from their new sovereign, who, instead of protecting, plundered his subjects. Their indignation at this, added to their desire of revenging Martinuzzi's death, wrought so much upon a turbulent nobility, impatient of injury, and upon a fierce people, prone to change, that they were ripe for a revolt. At that very juncture, their late Queen Isabella, together with her son, appeared in Transylvania. Her ambitious mind could not bear the solitude and inactivity of a private life; and repenting quickly of the cession which she had made of the crown in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, she left the place of her retreat, hoping that the dissatisfaction of the Hungarians with the Austrian government would prompt them once more to recognise her son's right to the crown. Some noblemen of great eminence declared immediately in his favour. The Basha of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, espoused his cause, in opposition to Ferdinand; the Spanish and German soldiers, instead of advancing against the enemy, mutinied for want of pay, declaring that they would march back to Vienna; so that Castaldo, their general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to Isabella and the Turks, and to place himself at the head of the mutineers, that by his authority he might restrain them from plundering

BOOK XI.

1553.

Ferdinand
obliged to
abandon
Transyl-
vania.

BOOK XI. the Austrian territories, through which they
1553. passed ¹⁸.

Solyman's
domestick
distresses.

FERDINAND's attention was turned so entirely towards the affairs of Germany, and his treasures so much exhausted by his late efforts in Hungary, that he made no attempt to recover this valuable province, although a favourable opportunity for that purpose presented itself, as Solyman was then engaged in a war with Persia, and involved besides in domestick calamities which engrossed and disturbed his mind. Solyman, though distinguished, by many accomplishments, from the other Ottoman Princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage of love, which reigns in the East, and often produces the wildest and most

The tragical
history of
his son
Mustapha.

tragical effects. His favourite mistress was a Circassian slave of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, whom, both on account of his birth-right and merit, he destined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted the Circassian, and gained the Sultan's heart. Having the address to retain the conquest which she had made, she kept possession of his love without any rival for

¹⁸ Thuan. 430.

many years, during which she brought him feveral fons and one daughter. All the happiness, however, which she derived from the unbounded fway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her fons, who, she foresaw, would be immediately facrificed, according to the barbarous jealousy of Turkish policy, to the safety of the new Emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, she came gradually to view Mustapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a step-mother's ill-will. This prompted her to wish his destruction, in order to secure for one of her own fons the throne which was destined for him. Nor did she want either ambition to attempt fuch a high enterprife, or the arts requisite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the Sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Rustan the Grand Vifier, she disclosed her scheme to that crafty minister, who perceiving that it was his own interest to cooperate with her, readily promised his assistance towards aggrandizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was fo nearly allied.

As foon as Roxalana had concerted her measures with this able confident, she began to

Book XI.

1553.

BOOK XI. affect a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was superstitiously attached, and proposed to found and endow a royal mosque, a work of great expence, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the highest degree. The Mufti whom she consulted, approved much of her pious intention; but, having been gained and instructed by Rustan, told her, that she being a slave could derive no benefit herself from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the master whose property she was. Upon this she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was absent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and of the cause from which it proceeded, discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it, and by a writing under his hand declared her a free woman. Roxalana having gained this point, proceeded to build the Mosque, and re-assumed her usual gaiety of spirit. But when Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, sent an eunuch, according to the custom of the seraglio, to bring her to partake of his bed, she, seemingly with deep regret, but in the most peremptory manner, declined to follow the eunuch, declaring that what had been an honour to her while a slave, became
a crime

a crime as she was now a free woman , and that she would not involve either the Sultan or herself in the guilt that must be contracted by such an open violation of the law of their prophet. Solyman, whose passion this difficulty , as well as the affected delicacy which gave rise to it, heightened and inflamed , had recourse immediately to the Mufti for his direction. He replied , agreeably to the Koran, that Roxalana's scruples were well founded ; but added , artfully, in words which Rustan had taught him to use, that it was in the Sultan's power to remove these difficulties by espousing her as his lawful wife. The amorous monarch closed eagerly with the proposal, and solemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual ; though , by doing so, he disregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood had taught all the Sultans since Bajazet I. to consider as inviolable. From his time , none of the Turkish monarchs had married, because, when he was vanquished and taken prisoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abused with barbarous insolence by the Tartars. That no similar calamity might subject the Ottoman family to the like disgrace, the Sultans admitted none to their bed but slaves , whose dishonour could not bring any such stain upon their house.

BOOK XI.

1553.

BUT the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxalana, of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the Sultan's heart; and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young Prince having been entrusted by his father, according to the practice of the Sultans in that age, with the government of several different provinces, was at that time invested with the administration in Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians, and added to his empire. In all these different commands, Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the same time, he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valour and generosity as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

THERE was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge, that could impair the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines for his destruction. She often mentioned, in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son; she celebrated his

courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the Sultan heard these encomiums, which were often repeated, with uneasiness; that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear, she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father Selim against Bajazet his grandfather: she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Persian Sophi, Solyman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderness was entirely extinguished, and such passions were kindled in the breast of the Sultan, as gave all Roxalana's malignant suggestions the colour not only of probability but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred succeeded, now, to his suspicions and fear of Mustapha. He appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions; he watched and stood on his guard against him as his most dangerous enemy.

HAVING thus alienated the Sultan's heart from Mustapha, Roxalana ventured upon another step. She entreated Solyman to allow her own sons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining access to their father,

BOOK XI. 1553. they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held; and, though what she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which completed the Sultan's delusion, and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the Bashaws of the provinces adjacent to Diarbequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing in appearance from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the Sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The Bashaws ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied but fatal panegyrics of Mustapha, representing him as a Prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal his fame. These letters were industriously shewn to Solyman, at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest im-

pression. Every expression in recommendation of his son wounded him to the heart; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favour the most desperate attempts of a Prince whom they were so fond to praise; and fancying that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death. BOOK XI.
1553.

FOR this purpose, though under pretence of renewing the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a son whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman, that the danger was so imminent as called for his immediate presence; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries; that many of the soldiers were corrupted; that the affections of all leaned towards him; that he had discovered a negociation which had been carried on with the Sophi of Persia in order to marry Mustapha with one of his daughters; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate to the exigencies of such an arduous conjuncture; that the Sultan

BOOK XI. alone had sagacity to discern what resolution
1553. should be taken in those circumstances, and power to carry that resolution into execution.

THIS charge of courting the friendship of the Sophi, Roxalana and Rustan had reserved as the last and most envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Persians, and threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He set out instantly for Syria, and hastened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a Chiaus or messenger of the court to his son, requiring him to repair immediately to his presence. Mustapha, though no stranger to his step-mother's machinations, or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet relying on his own innocence, and hoping to discredit the accusations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the messenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the Sultan's tent. As he entered it, he observed nothing that could give him any alarm; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the same order and

silence which always reign in the Sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes appeared, at the sight of whom Mustapha knowing what was his doom, cried with a loud voice, "Lo, my death!" and attempted to fly. The mutes rushed forward to seize him, he resisted and struggled, demanding with the utmost earnestness to see the Sultan; and despair, together with the hope of finding protection from the soldiers, if he could escape out of the tent, animated him with such extraordinary strength, that, for some time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his son's cries, as well as of the noise which the struggle occasioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thoughts of Mustapha's escaping, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look towards the mutes, and with wild and threatening gestures seemed to chide them for sloth and timidity. At sight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Mustapha's strength failed, and his courage forsook him; the mutes fastened the bow-string about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

THE dead body was exposed before the Sultan's tent. The soldiers gathered round it, and

BOOK XI. 1553. contemplating that mournful object with astonishment, and sorrow, and indignation, were ready, if a leader had not been wanting, to have broke out into the wildest excesses of rage. After giving vent to the first expressions of their grief, they retired each man to his tent, and shutting themselves up, bewailed in secret the cruel fate of their favourite; nor was there one of them who tasted food or even water during the remainder of that day. Next morning the same solitude and silence reigned in the camp; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this fullen calm, in order to appease the enraged foldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of Visier. This change, however, was made in concert with Rustan himself; that crafty minister suggesting it as the only expedient which could save himself or his master. But within a few months, when the resentment of the foldiers began to subside, and the name of Mustapha to be forgotten, Achmet was strangled by the Sultan's command, and Rustan reinstated in the office of Visier. Together with his former power, he re-assumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha which he had concerted with Roxalana; and as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left, might grow up to

avenge his death, they redoubled their activity, and by employing the same arts against him which they had practised against his father, they inspired Solyman with the same fears, and prevailed on him to issue orders for putting to death that young innocent Prince. These orders were executed with barbarous zeal, by an eunuch, who was dispatched to Bursa, the place where the Prince resided; and no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana ¹⁹.

SUCH a tragical scene, productive of so deep distress, seldom occurs but in the history of the great monarchies of the East, where the force of the climate works up and sublimates all the passions of the human mind into the greatest fury, and the absolute power of sovereigns enables them to act with uncontrolled violence; but while it passed in the court of Solyman, and engaged his whole attention, Charles was pursuing, with the utmost ardour, a new scheme for aggrandizing his family. About this time, Edward the Sixth of England, after a short reign, in which he displayed such virtues as filled his subjects with sanguine hopes of being happy

Charles projects a marriage between his son and Mary of England.

¹⁹ Augerii Giflenii Busbequii Legationis Turcicae Epistolæ iv. Franc. 1615. p. 37. Thuan. lib. 12. p. 432. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 457. Mauroceni Histor. Veneta, lib. vii. p. 60.

BOOK XI. under his government, and made them bear with
 1553. patience all that they suffered from the weakness, the dissensions and the ambition of the ministers who assumed the administration during his minority, was seized with a lingering distemper which threatened his life. The Emperor no sooner received an account of this, than his ambition, always attentive to seize every opportunity of acquiring an increase of power or of territories to his son, suggested the thought of adding England to his other kingdoms, by the marriage of Philip with the Princess Mary, the heir of Edward's crown. Being apprehensive, however, that his son, who was then in Spain, might decline a match with a Princess in her thirty-eighth year, and eleven years older than himself ²⁰, Charles determined, notwithstanding his own age and infirmities, to make offer of himself as a husband to his cousin.

To which
 Philip gives
 his consent.

BUT though Mary was so far advanced in years, and destitute of every charm either of person or of manners that could win affection, or command esteem, Philip, without hesitation, gave his consent to the match proposed by his father, and was willing, according to the usual maxim of Princes, to sacrifice his inclination to his ambition. In order to ensure success, the

²⁰ Palav. hist. Concil. Trid. v. ii. c. 13. p. 150.

Emperor, even before Edward's death, began to take such steps as might facilitate it. Upon Edward's demise, Mary mounted the throne of England; the pretensions of the lady Jane Gray proving as unfortunate as they were ill founded²¹. Charles sent immediately a pompous embassy to London to congratulate Mary on her accession to the throne, and to propose the alliance with his son. The Queen, dazzled with the prospect of marrying the heir of the greatest Monarch in Europe; fond of uniting more closely with her mother's family, to which she had been always warmly attached; and eager to secure the powerful aid which she knew would be necessary towards carrying on her favourite scheme of re-establishing the Romish religion in England, listened in the most favourable manner to the proposal. Among her subjects, it met with a very different reception. Philip, it was well known, contended for all the tenets of the church of Rome with a sanguinary zeal which exceeded the measure even of Spanish bigotry: this alarmed all the numerous partisans of the Reformation. The Castilian haughtiness and reserve were far from being acceptable to the English, who having several times seen their throne occupied by persons who were born subjects, had become accustomed to an unceremo-

BOOK XI.
1553.

The sentiments of Mary and of the English with regard to it.

²¹ Carte's hist. of England, iii. 287.

BOOK XI. nious and familiar intercourse with their sove-
 1553. reigns. They could not think, without the utmost uneasiness, of admitting a foreign Prince to that influence in their councils, which the husband of their Queen would naturally possess. They dreaded, both from Philip's overbearing temper, and from the maxims of the Spanish monarchy which he had imbibed, that he would infuse ideas into the Queen's mind, dangerous to the liberties of the nation, and would introduce foreign troops and money into the kingdom, to assist her in any attempt against them.

The house
 of Commons
 remonstrate
 against it.

FULL of these apprehensions, the house of Commons, though in that age extremely obsequious to the will of their Monarchs, presented a warm address against the Spanish match; many pamphlets were published, representing the dangerous consequences of the alliance with Spain, and describing Philip's bigotry and arrogance in the most odious colours. But Mary, inflexible in all her resolutions, paid no regard to the remonstrances of her Commons, or to the sentiment of the people. The Emperor, having secured, by various arts, the ministers whom she trusted most, they approved warmly of the match, and large sums were remitted by him in order to gain the rest of the council. Cardinal Pole, whom the Pope, immediately upon Mary's accession, had dispatched as his legate into Eng-

land, in order to reconcile his native country to the see of Rome, was detained by the Emperor's command at Dillinghen in Germany, lest by his presence he should thwart Philip's pretensions, and employ his interest in favour of his kinsman Courtnay Earl of Devonshire, whom the English ardently wished their sovereign to choose for a husband ²². Book XL
1553.

As the negociation did not admit of delay, it was carried forward with the greatest rapidity, the Emperor agreeing, without hesitation, to every article in favour of England, which Mary's ministers either represented as necessary to sooth the people and reconcile them to the match, or that was suggested by their own fears and jealousy of a foreign master. The chief articles were, that Philip, during his marriage with the Queen, should bear the title of King of England, but the entire administration of affairs, as well as the sole disposal of all revenues, offices, and benefices, should remain with the Queen; that the heirs of the marriage should, together with the crown of England, inherit the dutchy of Burgundy and the Low Countries; that if Prince Charles, Philip's only son by a former marriage, should die without issue, his children by the Queen, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain, and all the Em- The marriage treaty concluded
1554.
January 12.

²² Carte, iii. 288.

BOOK XI. 1554. peror's hereditary dominions; that, before the consummation of the marriage, Philip should swear solemnly, that he would retain no domestick who was not a subject of the Queen, and would bring no foreigners into the kingdom that might give umbrage to the English; that he would make no alteration in the constitution or laws of England; that he would not carry the Queen, or any of the children born of this marriage, out of the kingdom; that if the Queen should die before him without issue, he would immediately leave the crown to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatever; that in consequence of this marriage, England should not be engaged in any war subsisting between France and Spain; and that the alliance between France and England should remain in full force²³.

Discontent
and apprehensions
of
the English.

BUT this treaty, though both the Emperor and Mary's ministers employed their utmost address in framing it so as to please the English, was far from quieting their fears and jealousies. They saw that words and promises were a feeble security against the encroachments of an ambitious Prince, who, as soon as he got possession of the power and advantages which the Queen's husband must necessarily enjoy, could easily

²³ Rymer's Fœd. vol. xv. 377. 393. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 498.

evade any of the articles which either limited his authority or obstructed his schemes. They were convinced that the more favourable the conditions of the present treaty were to England, the more Philip would be tempted to violate them; and they dreaded that England, like Naples, Milan, and the other countries annexed to the Spanish crown, would soon feel the intolerable weight of its oppressive dominion, and be constrained, as these had been, to waste its wealth and vigour in wars wherein it had no interest, and from which it could derive no advantage. These sentiments prevailed so generally, that every part of the kingdom was filled with discontent at the match, and with indignation against the advisers of it. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a gentleman of some note, and of good intentions towards the publick, took advantage of this, and roused the inhabitants of Kent to arms, in order to save their country from a foreign yoke. Such numbers resorted in a short time to his standard; he marched to London with such rapidity; and the Queen was so utterly unprovided for defence, that the aspect of affairs was extremely threatening; and if any nobleman of distinction had joined the malecontents, or had Wyatt possessed talents equal, in any degree, to the boldness of his enterprize, the insurrection must have proved fatal to

Book XI.

1554.

Wyat's insurrection.

BOOK XI. Mary's power. But all his measures were con-
 1554. certed with so little prudence, and executed with
 such irresolution, that many of his followers
 forsook him; the rest were dispersed by an hand-
 ful of men; and he himself was taken prisoner,
 without having made any effort worthy of the
 cause that he had undertaken, or suitable to the
 ardour with which he engaged in it. He suffered
 the punishment due to his rashness and rebellion.
 The Queen's authority was confirmed and in-
 creased by her success in defeating this incon-
 siderate attempt to abridge it. The lady Jane
 Gray, whose title the ambition of her relations
 had set up in opposition to the Queen's, was,
 notwithstanding her youth and innocence,
 brought to the scaffold. The lady Elizabeth,
 the Queen's sister, was observed with the most
 jealous attention. The treaty of marriage was
 ratified by the parliament.

The mar-
 riage cele-
 brated.

PHILIP landed in England with a magni-
 ficent retinue, celebrated his nuptials with great
 solemnity, and though he could not lay aside
 his natural severity and pride, or assume gracious
 and popular manners, he endeavoured to con-
 ciliate the favour of the English nobility by his
 extraordinary liberality. In case that should fail
 of acquiring him such influence in the govern-
 ment of the kingdom as he aimed at obtaining,
 the

the Emperor kept a body of twelve thousand men on the coast of Flanders, in readiness to embark for England, and to support him in all his enterprizes. Book XI.
1554.

EMBOLDENED by all these favourable circumstances, Mary pursued the scheme of extirpating the Protestant religion out of her dominions, with the most precipitate zeal. The laws of Edward the Sixth, in favour of the Reformation, were repealed; the Protestant clergy ejected; all the forms and rites of the Popish worship were re-established; the nation was solemnly absolved from the guilt which it had contracted during the period of its apostacy, and was publickly reconciled to the church of Rome by cardinal Pole, who, immediately after the Queen's marriage, was permitted to continue his journey to England, and to exercise his legantine functions with the most ample power. Not satisfied with having overturned the Protestant church, and having established her own system on its ruins, Mary insisted that all her subjects should conform to the same mode of worship which she preferred; should profess their faith in the same creed which she had approved; and abjure every practice or opinion that was deemed repugnant to either of them. Powers altogether unknown in the Eng-

Mary's
measures to
overturn the
Protestant
religion in
England.

BOOK XI. 1554. lish constitution, were vested in certain persons appointed to take cognizance of heresy, and they proceeded to exercise them with more than inquisitorial severity. The prospect of danger, however, did not intimidate the principal teachers of the Protestant doctrines, who believed that they were contending for truths of the utmost consequence to the happiness of mankind. They boldly avowed their sentiments, and were condemned to that cruel death which the church of Rome reserves for its enemies. This shocking punishment was inflicted with that barbarity which the rancour of false zeal alone can inspire. The English, who are inferior in humanity to no people in Europe, and remarkable for the mildness of their publick executions, beheld, with astonishment and horror, persons who had filled the most respectable stations in their church, and who were venerable on account of their age, their piety, and their literature, condemned to endure torments to which even the most atrocious criminals were not subjected.

The obstacles which she had to surmount.

THIS extreme rigour did not accomplish the end at which Mary aimed. The patience and fortitude with which these martyrs for the Reformation submitted to their sufferings, the heroick contempt of death expressed by persons of every rank, and age, and sex, confirmed many

more in the Protestant faith, than the threats of their enraged persecutors could frighten into apostasy. The business of such as were entrusted with trying of hereticks multiplied continually, and appeared to be as endless as it was odious. The Queen's ablest ministers became sensible how impolitick, as well as dangerous, it was to irritate the people by the frequent spectacle of publick executions, which they detested as no less unjust than cruel. Even Philip was so thoroughly convinced of her having run to an excess of rigour, that on this occasion he assumed a part to which he was little accustomed, becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity ²⁴.

BUT, notwithstanding this attempt to ingratiate himself with the English, they discovered a constant jealousy and distrust of all his intentions; and when some members, who had been gained by the court, ventured to move in the House of Commons that the nation ought to assist the Emperor, the Queen's father-in-law, in his war against France, the proposal was rejected with general dissatisfaction. A motion which was made, that the parliament should give its consent that Philip might be publickly crowned as the Queen's husband, met with

The English
jealous of
Philip.

²⁴ Godwin's Annals of Q. Mary ap. Kennet, v. ii. p. 329. Burnet's hist. of Reformation ii. 298. 305.

BOOK XI. such a cold reception, that it was instantly
1554. withdrawn ²⁵.

The French
King alarm-
ed at the
match be-
tween Phi-
lip and
Mary.

THE King of France had observed the progress of the Emperor's negociation in England with much uneasiness. The great accession of territories as well as reputation which his enemy would acquire by the marriage of his son with the Queen of such a powerful kingdom, was obvious and formidable. He easily foresaw that the English, notwithstanding all their fears and precautions, would be soon drawn in to take part in the quarrels on the continent, and be compelled to act in subserviency to the Emperor's ambitious schemes. For this reason, Henry had given it in charge to his ambassador at the court of London, to employ all his address in order to defeat or retard the treaty of marriage; and as there was not, at that time, any Prince of the blood in France, whom he could propose to the Queen as a husband, he instructed him to co-operate with such of the English as wished their sovereign to marry one of her own subjects. But the Queen's ardour and precipitation in closing with the first overtures in favour of Philip, having rendered all his endeavours ineffectual, Henry was so far from thinking it prudent to

²⁵ Carte's hist. of England, iii. 314.

give any aid to the English malecontents, though earnestly solicited by Wyat and their other leaders, who tempted him to take them under his protection, by offers of great advantage to France, that he commanded his ambassador to congratulate the Queen in the warmest terms upon the suppression of the insurrection.

BOOK XI.
1554.

BUT, notwithstanding these external professions, Henry dreaded so much the consequence of this alliance, which more than compensated for all the Emperor had lost in Germany, that he determined to carry on his military operations both in the Low Countries, and in Italy, with extraordinary vigour, in order that he might compel Charles to accept of an equitable peace, before his daughter-in-law could surmount the aversion of her subjects to a war on the continent, and prevail on them to assist the Emperor either with money or troops. For this purpose he exerted himself to the utmost in order to have a numerous army early assembled on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and while one part of it laid waste the open country of Artois, the main body, under the Constable Montmorency, advanced towards the provinces of Liege and Hainault by the forest of Ardenes.

His preparations for a vigorous campaign.

BOOK XI. THE campaign was opened with the siege of
 1554. Marienburgh, a town which the Queen of
 The progress of his arms Hungary, the governess of the Low Countries, had fortified at great expence; but, being destitute of a sufficient garrison, it surrendered in six days. Henry, elated with this success, put
 June 28. himself at the head of his army, and investing Bouvines, took it by assault, after a short resistance. With equal facility he became master of Dinant; and then turning to the left, bent his march towards the province of Artois. The
 The Emperor little able to obstruct it. vast sums which the Emperor had remitted into England, had so exhausted his treasury, as to render his preparations at this juncture, slower and more dilatory than usual. He had no body of troops to make head against the French at their first entrance into his territories; and though he drew together all the forces in the country in the utmost hurry, and gave the command of them to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, they were in no condition to face an enemy so far superior in number. The Prince of Savoy, however, by his activity and good conduct, made up for his want of troops. By watching all the motions of the French at a distance, and by choosing his own posts with skill, he put it out of their power either to form any siege of consequence, or to attack him. Want

of subsistence soon obliged them to fall back towards their own frontiers, after having burnt all the open towns, and having plundered the country through which they marched with a cruelty and licence more becoming a body of light troops than a royal army led by a great monarch. Book XI.
1554.

BUT Henry, that he might not dismiss his army without attempting some conquest adequate to the vast preparations, as well as sanguine hopes, with which he had opened the campaign, invested Renti, a place deemed in that age of great importance, as, by its situation on the confines of Artois and the Boulonnois, it covered the former province, and protected the parties which made incursions into the latter. The French
invest Renti. The town, which was strongly fortified and provided with a numerous garrison, made a gallant defence; but being warmly pressed by a powerful army, it must soon have yielded. The Emperor, who at that time enjoyed a short interval of ease from the gout, was so solicitous to save it, that, although he could bear no other motion but that of a litter, he instantly put himself at the head of his army, which having received several reinforcements was now strong enough to approach the enemy. The French were eager to decide the fate of Renti by a

BOOK XI. battle, and expected it from the Emperor's
 1554. arrival in his camp; but Charles avoided a
 general action with great industry, and as he
 had nothing in view but to save the town, he
 hoped to accomplish that, without exposing
 himself to the consequences of such a dangerous
 and doubtful event.

An Action
 between the
 two armies.
 Aug. 13.

NOTWITHSTANDING all his precautions, a
 dispute, about a post which both armies endea-
 voured to seize, brought on an engagement
 which proved almost general. The Duke of
 Guise, who commanded the wing of the French
 which stood the brunt of the combat, displayed
 valour and conduct worthy of the defender of
 Metz; the Imperialists after an obstinate strug-
 gle were repulsed; the French remained masters
 of the post in dispute, and if the Constable,
 either from his natural caution and slowness, or
 from unwillingness to support a rival whom he
 hated, had not delayed bringing up the main
 body to second the impression which Guise had
 made, the rout of the enemy must have been
 complete. The Emperor, notwithstanding the
 loss which he had sustained, continued in the
 same camp; and the French, being straightened
 for provisions, and finding it impossible to carry
 on the siege in the face of an hostile army,
 quitted their intrenchments. They retired

openly, courting the enemy to approach, rather than shunning an engagement. Book XI.
1554.

BUT Charles, having gained his end, suffered them to march off unmolested. As soon as his troops entered their own country, Henry threw garrisons into the frontier towns, and dismissed the rest of the army. This encouraged the Imperialists to push forward with a considerable body of troops into Picardy, and by laying waste the country with fire and sword, they endeavoured to revenge themselves for the ravages which the French had committed in Hainault and Artois²⁶. But, as they were not able to reduce any place of importance, they gained nothing more than the enemy had done by this cruel and inglorious method of carrying on the war.

THE arms of France were still more unsuccessful in Italy. The footing which the French had acquired in Siena, occasioned much uneasiness to Cosmo di Medici, the most sagacious and enterprising of all the Italian Princes. He dreaded the neighbourhood of a powerful people, to whom all who favoured the ancient republican government in Florence would have recourse, as to their natural protectors against

²⁶ Thuan. 460, &c. Haræi Ann. Brab. 674.

BOOK XI. that absolute authority which the Emperor had enabled him to usurp; he knew how odious he was to the French, on account of his attachment to the Imperial party, and he foresaw that, if they were permitted to gather strength in Siena, Tuscany would soon feel the effects of their resentment. For these reasons, he wished with the utmost solicitude for the expulsion of the French out of the Sieneſe, before they had time to eſtabliſh themſelves thoroughly in the country, or to receive ſuch reinforcements from France as would render it dangerous to attack them. As this, however, was properly the Emperor's buſineſs, who was called by his intereſt as well as honour to diſlodge thoſe formidable intruders into the heart of his dominions, Coſmo laboured to throw the whole burden of the enterprize on him; and on that account had given no aſſiſtance, during the former campaign, but by advancing ſome ſmall ſums of money towards the payment of the Imperial troops.

He negociates with the Emperor.

BUT as the defence of the Netherlands engroſſed all the Emperor's attention, and his remittances into England had drained his treaſury, it was obvious that his operations in Italy would be extremely feeble; and Coſmo plainly perceived, that if he himſelf did not take part

openly in the war, and act with vigour, the French would scarcely meet with any annoyance. As his situation rendered this resolution necessary and unavoidable, his next care was to execute it in such a manner, that he might derive from it some other advantage, beside that of driving the French out of his neighbourhood. With this view, he dispatched an envoy to Charles, offering to declare war against France, and to reduce Siena at his own charges, on condition that he should be repaid whatever he should expend in the enterprise, and be permitted to retain all his conquests until his demands were fully satisfied. Charles, to whom, at this juncture, the war against Siena was an intolerable burden, and who had neither expedient nor resource that could enable him to carry it on with proper vigour, closed gladly with this overture; and Cosmo, well acquainted with the low state of the Imperial finances, flattered himself that the Emperor, finding it impossible to reimburse him, would suffer him to keep quiet possession of whatever places he should conquer²⁷.

FULL of these hopes, he made great preparations for war, and as the French King had turned the strength of his arms against the

Enters into
war with
France.

²⁷ Adriani Istoria de' suoi tempi, vol. i. 662.

BOOK XI. Netherlands, he did not despair of assembling
 1554. such a body of men as would prove more than
 a sufficient match for any force which Henry
 could bring into the field in Italy. He endeavoured to obtain assistance from the Pope, or at least to secure his remaining neutral, by giving one of his daughters to that Pontiff's nephew. He attempted to detach the Duke of Orfni, whose family had been long attached to the French party, from his ancient confederates, by bestowing on him another of his daughters; and what was of greater consequence than either of these, he engaged John James Medecino, Marquis of Marignano, to take the command of his army²⁸. This officer, from a very low condition in life, had raised himself, through all the ranks of service, to high command, and had displayed talents, and acquired reputation in war, which entitled him to be placed on a level with the greatest generals in that martial age. Having attained a station of eminence so disproportionate to his birth, he laboured with a fond solicitude to conceal his original obscurity, by giving out that he was descended of the family of Medici, to which honour the casual resemblance of his name was his only pretension. Cosmo, happy that he could gratify him at such an easy rate, flattered his vanity in this point,

Gives the
 command of
 his army to
 Medecino.

²⁸ Adriani Istoria, vol. i. p. 663.

acknowledged him as a relation, and permitted him to assume the arms of his family: Medecino, eager to serve the head of that family of which he now considered himself as a branch, applied with wonderful zeal and assiduity to raise troops; and as, during his long service, he had acquired great credit with the leaders of those mercenary bands which formed the strength of Italian armies, he engaged the most eminent of them to follow Cosmo's standard. Book XI,
1554.

To oppose this able general, and the formidable army which he had assembled, the King of France made choice of Peter Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, who had resided long in France, as an exile, and who had risen by his merit to high reputation, as well as command in the army. He was the son of Philip Strozzi, who, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven, had concurred with such ardour in the attempt to expel the family of Medici out of Florence, in order to re-establish the ancient republican form of government; and who had perished in the undertaking. The son inherited the implacable aversion to the Medici, as well as the same enthusiastick zeal for the liberty of Florence which had animated his father, whose death he was impatient to revenge. Henry flattered himself that his army would make rapid progress under a general whose zeal Peter Strozzi entrusted with the command of the French army in Italy.

BOOK XI. to promote his interest was roused and seconded
 1554. by such powerful passions; especially as he had allotted him, for the scene of action, his native country, in which he had many powerful partisans ready to facilitate all his operations.

The imprudence of this choice.

BUT how specious soever the motives might appear which induced Henry to make this choice, it proved fatal to the interests of France in Italy. Cosmo, as soon as he heard that the mortal enemy of his family was appointed to take the command in Tuscany, concluded that the King of France aimed at something more than the protection of the Sienese, and saw the necessity of making extraordinary efforts, not merely to reduce Siena, but to save himself from destruction²⁹. At the same time, the Cardinal of Ferrara, who had the entire direction of the French affairs in Italy, considered Strozzi as a formidable rival in power, and in order to prevent his acquiring any increase of authority from success, he was extremely remiss in supplying him either with money to pay his troops, or with provisions to support them. Strozzi himself, blinded by his resentment against the Medici, pushed on his operations with the impetuosity of revenge, rather than with the caution and prudence becoming a great general.

²⁹ Pecci Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 103, &c.

At first, however, he attacked several towns in the territory of Florence with such vigour as obliged Medecino, in order to check his progress, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Siena, which he had invested before Strozzi's arrival in Italy. As Cosmo sustained the whole burden of military operations, the expence of which must soon have exhausted his revenues; as neither the viceroy of Naples nor governor of Milan were in condition to afford him any effectual aid; and as the troops which Medecino had left in the camp before Siena could attempt nothing against it during his absence; it was Strozzi's business to have protracted the war, and to have transferred the seat of it into the territories of Florence; but the hope of ruining his enemy by one decisive blow, precipitated him into a general engagement not far from Marciano. The armies were nearly equal in number; but a body of Italian cavalry, in which Strozzi placed great confidence, having fled without making any resistance, either through the treachery or cowardice of the officers who commanded it, his infantry remained exposed to the attacks of all Medecino's troops. Encouraged, however, by Strozzi's presence and example, who, after receiving a dangerous wound in endeavouring to rally the cavalry, placed himself at the head of the infantry, and mani-

BOOK XI.

1554.

The battle
of Marci-
ano.

August 3.

In which
the French
are defeated.

BOOK XI. 1554. fested an admirable presence of mind, as well as extraordinary valour, they stood their ground with great firmness, and repulsed such of the enemy as ventured to approach them. But those gallant troops being surrounded at last on every side, and torn in pieces by a battery of cannon which Medecino brought to bear upon them, the Florentine cavalry broke in on their flanks, and a general rout ensued. Strozzi, faint with the loss of blood, and deeply affected with the fatal consequences of his own rashness, found the utmost difficulty in making his escape with a handful of men".

Medecino
besieges
Siena,

which is
gallantly de-
fended by
the citizens
and Mon-
luc.

MEDECINO returned immediately to the siege of Siena with his victorious forces, and as Strozzi could not, after the greatest efforts of activity, collect as many men as to form the appearance of a regular army, he had leisure to carry on his approaches against the town without molestation. But the Sienese, instead of sinking into despair upon this cruel disappointment of their only hope of obtaining relief, prepared to defend themselves to the utmost extremity, with that undaunted fortitude, which the love of liberty alone can inspire. This generous resolution was warmly seconded by Monluc, who commanded the French garrison in the

²⁰ Pecci Memorie di Siena, vol. iv. p. 157.

town

town. The active and enterprising courage which he had displayed on many occasions, had procured him this command; and as he had ambition which aspired at the highest military dignities, without any pretensions to attain them but what he could derive from merit, he determined to distinguish his defence of Siena by extraordinary efforts of valour and perseverance. For this purpose, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications with unwearied industry; he trained the citizens to the use of arms, and accustomed them to go through the fatigues and dangers of service in common with the soldiers; and as the enemy were extremely strict in guarding all the avenues to the city, he husbanded the provisions in the magazines with the most parsimonious œconomy, and prevailed on the soldiers, as well as the citizens, to restrict themselves to a very moderate daily allowance for their subsistence. Medecino, though his army was not numerous enough to storm the town by open force, ventured twice to assault it by surprise; but he was received each time with so much spirit, and repulsed with such loss, as discouraged him from repeating the attempt, and left him no hopes of reducing the town but by famine.

BOOK XI.

1554.
Medecino
converts the
siege into a
blockade.

1555.

WITH this view, he fortified his own camp with great care, occupied all the posts of strength round the place, and having entirely cut off the besieged from any communication with the adjacent country, he waited patiently until necessity should compel them to open their gates. But their enthusiastick zeal for liberty made the citizens despise the distresses occasioned by the scarcity of provisions, and even supported them long under all the miseries of famine; Monluc, by his example and exhortations, taught his soldiers to vie with them in patience and abstinence; and it was not until they had withstood a siege of ten months, until they had eaten up all the horses, dogs, and other animals in the place, and were reduced almost to their last morsel of bread, that they proposed a capitulation. Even then they demanded honourable terms; and as Cosmo, though no stranger to the extremity of their condition, was afraid that despair might prompt them to venture upon some wild enterprize, he immediately granted them conditions more favourable than they could have expected.

April 22.
The town
obliged by
famine to
capitulate.

THE capitulation was made in the Emperor's name, who engaged to take the republick of Siena under the protection of the Empire; he promised to maintain the ancient liberties of the

city, to allow the magistrates the full exercise of their former authority, to secure the citizens in the undisturbed possession of their privileges and property; he granted an ample and unlimited pardon to all who had born arms against him; he reserved to himself the right of placing a garrison in the town, but engaged not to rebuild the citadel without the consent of the citizens. Monluc and his French garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

MEDECINO observed the articles of capitulation, as far as depended on him, with great exactness. No violence or insult whatever was offered to the inhabitants, and the French garrison was treated with all the respect due to their spirit and bravery. But many of the citizens suspecting, from the extraordinary facility with which they had obtained such favourable conditions, that the Emperor, as well as Cosmo, would take the first opportunity of violating them, and disdaining to possess a precarious liberty, which depended on the will of another, abandoned the place of their nativity, and accompanied the French to Monte-Alcino, Porto Ercole, and other small towns in the territory of the republic. They established, in Monte-Alcino, the same model of government to which they had been accustomed at Siena, and appointing ma-

Book XI.

1555.

Many of the
Sienese retire
to Monte-
Alcino.

and establish
a free go-
vernment
there.

BOOK XI. 1555. gistrates with the same titles and jurisdiction, so-
laced themselves with this image of their ancient
liberty.

Hardships to
which the
citizens of
Siena were
subjected.

THE fears of the Sienese concerning the fate
of their country were not imaginary, or their
suspicion of the Emperor and Cosmo ill-founded;
for no sooner had the Imperial troops taken pos-
session of the town, than Cosmo, without regard-
ing the articles of capitulation, not only dis-
placed the magistrates who were in office, and
nominated new ones devoted to his own interest,
but commanded all the citizens to deliver up
their arms to persons whom he appointed to
receive them. They submitted to the former
from necessity, though with all the reluctance
and regret which men accustomed to liberty feel
in obeying the first commands of a master.
They did not yield the same tame obedience to
the latter; and many persons of distinction, ra-
ther than degrade themselves from the rank of
freemen to the condition of slaves, by surrender-
ing their arms, fled to their countrymen at
Monte-Alcino, and chose to endure all the hard-
ships, and encounter all the dangers which they
had reason to expect in that new station, where
they had fixed the seat of their republick.

Cosmo at-
tacks those

COSMO, not reckoning himself secure while
such numbers of implacable and desperate ene-

mies were settled in his neighbourhood, and retained any degree of power, solicited Medecino to attack them in their different places of retreat, before they had time to recruit their strength and spirits, after the many calamities which they had suffered. He prevailed on him, though his army was much weakened by hard duty during the siege of Siena, to invest Porto Ercole; and the fortifications being both slight and incomplete, the besieged were soon compelled to open their gates. An unexpected order, which Medecino received from the Emperor to detach the greater part of his troops into Piedmont, prevented farther operations, and permitted the Sienese exiles to reside for some time undisturbed in Monte-Alcino. But their unhappy countrymen who remained at Siena, were not yet at the end of their sufferings; for the Emperor, instead of adhering to the articles of capitulation, granted his son Philip the investiture of that city and all its dependencies; and Francis de Toledo, in the name of their new master, proceeded to settle the civil and military government, treated them like a conquered people, and subjected them to the Spanish yoke, without paying any regard whatever to their privileges or established forms of policy³¹.

BOOK XI.

1555.

who had retired.

June 13.

³¹ Sleid. 617. Thuan. lib. xv. 526. 537. Joan. Camerarii adnot. rer. præcipuarum ab anno 1550 ad 1561 ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 564. Pecci Memorie di Siena, iv. 164, &c.

BOOK XI.

1555.

Operations
in Pied-
mont.

THE Imperial army in Piedmont had been so feeble, for some time, and its commanders so inactive, that the Emperor, in order to give vigour to his operations in that quarter, found it necessary not only to call off Medecino's troops from Tuscany while in the career of conquest, but to employ in Piedmont a general of such reputation and abilities, as might counterbalance the great military talents of the Marechal Brissac, who was at the head of the French forces in that country.

Charles ap-
points the
Duke of
Alva gene-
ralissimo
there.

HE pitched on the Duke of Alva for that purpose; but it was as much the effect of a court intrigue, as of his opinion of the Duke's merit, which led him to this choice. Alva had long attended Philip with the utmost assiduity, and had endeavoured to work himself into his confidence by all the insinuating arts of which his haughty and inflexible nature was capable. As he nearly resembled that Prince in many features of his character, he began to gain much of his good-will. Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's favourite, who dreaded the progress which this formidable rival made in his master's affections, had the address to prevail with the Emperor to name Alva to this command. The Duke, though sensible that he owed this distinction to the malicious arts of an enemy, who had no other aim than to remove him at a distance from court,

was of such punctilious honour, that he would not decline a command that appeared dangerous and difficult, but, at the same time, so haughty, that he would not accept of it but on his own terms, insisting on being appointed the Emperor's Vicar-general in Italy, with the supreme military command in all the Imperial and Spanish territories in that country. Charles granted all his demands; and he took possession of his new dignity with almost unlimited authority.

His first operations, however, were neither proportioned to his former reputation and the extensive powers with which he was invested, nor did they come up to the Emperor's expectations. Brissac had under his command an army which, though inferior in number to the Imperialists, was composed of chosen troops, which having grown old in service in that country, where every town was fortified, and every castle capable of being defended, were perfectly acquainted with the manner of carrying on war there. By their valour, and his own good conduct, Brissac not only defeated all the attempts of the Imperialists, but added new conquests to the territories of which he was formerly master. Alva, after having boasted, with his usual arrogance, that he would drive the French

Book XI.
1555.
His operations there inconsiderable.

BOOK XI. out of Piedmont in a few weeks, was obliged
 1555. to retire into winter-quarters, with the ignominy
 of being unable to preserve entire that part of
 the country of which the Emperor had hitherto
 kept possession³².

As the operations of this campaign in Piedmont were indecisive, those in the Netherlands were inconsiderable, neither the Emperor nor King of France being able to bring into the field an army strong enough to undertake any enterprize of moment. But what Charles wanted in force, he endeavoured to supply by a bold stratagem, the success of which would have been equal to that of the most vigorous campaign. During the siege of Metz, Leonard, Father Guardian of a convent of Franciscans in that city, had insinuated himself far into the esteem and favour of the Duke of Guise, by his attachment to the French. Being a man of an active and intriguing spirit, he had been extremely useful both in animating the inhabitants to sustain with patience all the hardships of the siege, and in procuring intelligence of the enemy's designs and motions. The merit of those important services, together with the warm recommendations of the Duke of Guise, secured him

A conspiracy to betray Metz to the Imperialists.

³² Thuan. lib. xv. §29. Guichenon Hist. de Savoye, tom. i. 670.

such high confidence with Vielleville, who was appointed governor of Metz when Guise left the town, that he was permitted to converse or correspond with whatever persons he chose, and nothing that he did created any suspicion. This monk, from the levity natural to bold and projecting adventurers; or from resentment against the French, who had not bestowed on him such rewards as he thought due to his own merit; or tempted by the unlimited confidence which was placed in him, to imagine that he might carry on and accomplish any scheme with perfect security, formed a design of betraying Metz to the Imperialists.

HE communicated his intention to the Queen-dowager of Hungary, who governed the Low Countries in name of her brother. She approving, without any scruple, an act of treachery, from which the Emperor might derive such signal advantage, assisted the Father Guardian in concerting the most proper plan for ensuring its success. They agreed, that the Father Guardian should endeavour to gain his monks to concur in promoting the design; that he should introduce into the convent a certain number of chosen soldiers, disguised in the habit of friars; that when every thing was ripe for execution, the governor of Thionville should

Book XI.

1555.

The plan
of it.

BOOK XI. 1555. march towards Metz in the night with a considerable body of troops, and attempt to scale the ramparts; that while the garrison was employed in resisting the assailants, the monks should set fire to the town in different places; that the foldiers who lay concealed should fall out of the convent, and attack those who defended the ramparts in the rear. Amidst the universal terror and confusion, which events so unexpected would occasion, it was not doubted but that the Imperialists might become masters of the town. As a recompence for this service the Father Guardian stipulated that he should be appointed bishop of Metz, and ample rewards were promised to such of his monks as should be most active in co-operating with him.

Its progress. THE Father Guardian accomplished what he had undertaken to perform with great secrecy and dispatch. By his authority and arguments, as well as by the prospect of wealth or honours which he set before his monks, he prevailed on all of them to enter into the conspiracy. He introduced into the convent, without being suspected, as many foldiers as were thought sufficient. The governor of Thionville, apprized in due time of the design, had assembled a proper number of troops for executing it; and the moment approached, which probably would

have wrested from Henry the most important Book XL
of all his conquests. 1555.

BUT, happily for France, on the very day that ^{Is disco-}
was fixed for striking the blow, Vielleville, an ^{vered.}
able and vigilant officer, received information
from a spy whom he entertained at Thionville,
that certain Franciscan friars resorted frequently
thither, and were admitted to many private
conferences with the governor, who was carry-
ing on preparations for some military enterprize
with great dispatch, but with a most mysterious
secrecy. This was sufficient to awaken Vielle-
ville's suspicions. Without communicating these
to any person, he instantly visited the convent
of Franciscans; detected the soldiers who were
concealed there; and forced them to discover
as much as they knew concerning the nature
of the enterprize. The Father Guardian, who
had gone to Thionville that he might put the
last hand to his machinations, was seized at the
gate as he returned; and he, in order to save
himself from the rack, revealed all the circum-
stances of the conspiracy.

VIELLEVILLE not satisfied with having seized ^{A body of}
the traitors, and having frustrated their schemes, ^{Imperialists}
was solicitous to take advantage of the disco- ^{defeated.}
veries which he made, so as to be revenged
on the Imperialists. For this purpose, he

BOOK XI. 1555. marched out with the best troops in his garrison, and placing these in ambush near the road, by which the Father Guardian had informed him that the governor of Thionville would approach Metz, he fell upon the Imperialists with great fury, as they advanced in perfect security, without suspecting any danger to be near. Confounded at this sudden attack, by an enemy whom they expected to surprise, they made little resistance; and a great part of the troops employed in this service, among which were many persons of distinction, was killed or taken prisoners. Before next morning, Vielleville returned to Metz in triumph.

The conspirators punished.

No resolution was taken for some time concerning the fate of the Father Guardian and his monks, the framers and conductors of this dangerous conspiracy. Regard for the honour of a body so numerous and respectable as the Franciscans, and unwillingness to afford a subject of triumph to the enemies of the Romish church by their disgrace, seem to have occasioned this delay. But at length, the necessity of inflicting exemplary punishment upon them, in order to deter others from venturing to commit the same crime, became so evident, that orders were issued to proceed to their trial. Their guilt was made apparent by the clearest

evidence; and sentence of death was passed Book XI.
 upon the Father Guardian together with twenty 1555.
 monks. On the evening previous to the day
 fixed for their execution, the jailor took them
 out of the dungeons in which they had hitherto
 been confined separately, and shut them all up
 in one great room, that they might confess
 their sins one to another, and join together in
 preparing for a future state. But as soon as
 they were left alone, instead of employing them-
 selves in the religious exercises suitable to their
 condition, they began to reproach the Father
 Guardian, and four of the senior monks who
 had been most active in seducing them, for
 their inordinate ambition, which had brought
 such misery on them, and such disgrace upon
 their order. From reproaches they proceeded
 to curses and execrations, and at last, in a
 frenzy of rage and despair, they fell upon them
 with such violence, that they murdered the
 Father Guardian on the spot, and so disabled
 the other four, that it became necessary to carry
 them next morning in a cart, together with the
 dead body of the Father Guardian, to the place
 of execution. Six of the youngest were par-
 doned, the rest suffered the punishment which
 their crime merited".

" Thuan. lib. xv. p. 522. Belcar. Com. Rer. Gal. 866.
 Mémoires du Marech. Vielleville, par. M. Charloix, tom. iii.
 p. 249, &c. p. 347. Par. 1757.

BOOK XI. **THOUGH** both parties, exhausted by the length
 1555. of the war, carried it on in this languishing
 A fruitless manner, neither of them shewed any disposition
 negotiation to listen to overtures of peace. Cardinal Pole
 in order to indeed laboured with all the zeal becoming his
 establish piety and humanity, to re-establish concord
 peace. among the Princes of Christendom. He had
 not only persuaded his mistress, the Queen of
 England, to enter warmly into his sentiments,
 and to offer her mediation to the contending
 powers, but had prevailed both on the Emperor
 and King of France to send their plenipoten-
 tiaries to a village between Gravelines and
 Ardres. He himself, together with Gardiner
 bishop of Winchester, repaired thither in order
 to preside as mediators in the conferences, which
 were to be held for adjusting all the points in
 difference. But though each of the monarchs
 committed this negociation to some of their mi-
 nisters, in whom they placed the greatest confi-
 dence, it was soon evident that they came toge-
 May 21. ther with no sincere desire of accommodation.
 Each proposed articles so extravagant that they
 could have no hopes of their being accepted.
 Pole, after exerting, in vain, all his zeal, ad-
 dress, and invention, in order to persuade them
 to relinquish such extravagant demands, and to
 consent to the substitution of more equal condi-
 tions, became sensible of the folly of wasting

time, in attempting to reconcile those, whom Book XI.
 their obstinacy rendered irreconcilable, broke 1555.
 off the conference, and returned into England ³⁴.

DURING these transactions in other parts of Affairs of Germany.
 Europe, Germany enjoyed such profound tranquillity, as afforded the Diet full leisure to deliberate, and to establish proper regulations concerning a point of the greatest consequence to the internal peace of the Empire. By the treaty of Passau in one thousand five hundred and fifty-two, it had been referred to the next diet of the Empire to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, which was there agreed upon. The terror and confusion with which the violent commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg had filled the Empire, as well as the constant attention which Ferdinand was obliged to give to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto prevented the holding a diet, though it had been summoned, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, to meet at Augsburgh.

BUT as a Diet was now necessary on many accounts, Ferdinand about the beginning of this Diet held at Augsburgh, and Ferdinand's
 year had repaired to Augsburgh. Though few speech in it.
 of the Princes were present either in person or

³⁴ Thuan. lib. xv. p. 523. Mém. de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 613.

BOOK XI. by their deputies, he opened the assembly by a
1555. speech, in which he proposed a termination of the dissensions, to which the new tenets and controversies with regard to religion had given rise, not only as the first and great business of the diet, but as the point which both the Emperor and he had most at heart. He represented the innumerable obstacles which the Emperor had to surmount before he could procure the convocation of a general council, as well as the fatal accidents which had for some time retarded, and had at last suspended the consultations of that assembly. He observed, that experience had already taught them how vain it was to expect any remedy for evils, which demanded immediate redress, from a general council, the assembling of which would either be prevented, or its deliberations be interrupted by the dissensions and hostilities of the Princes of Christendom; That a national council in Germany, which, as some imagined, might be called with greater ease, and deliberate with more perfect security, was an assembly of an unprecedented nature, the jurisdiction of which was uncertain in its extent, and the form of its proceedings undefined; That in his opinion there remained but one method for composing their unhappy differences, which though it had been often tried without success, might yet prove effectual
if

if it were attempted with a better and more pacifick spirit than had appeared on former occasions, and that was to choose a few men of learning, abilities, and moderation, who, by discussing the disputed articles in an amicable conference, might explain them in such a manner, as to bring the contending parties either to unite in sentiment, or to differ with charity.

THIS speech being printed in common form, and dispersed over the Empire, revived the fears and jealousies of the Protestants; Ferdinand, they observed with much surprise, had not once mentioned, in his address to the diet, the treaty of Passau, the stipulations in which they considered as the great security of their religious liberty. The suspicions to which this gave rise were confirmed by the accounts which they daily received of the extreme rigour with which Ferdinand treated their Protestant brethren in his hereditary dominions, and, as it was natural to consider his actions as the surest indication of his intentions, this diminished their confidence in those pompous professions of moderation or of zeal for the re-establishment of concord, to which his practice was so utterly repugnant.

THE arrival of the Cardinal Morone, whom the Pope had appointed to attend the diet as

BOOK XI. his nuncio, completed their conviction, and
 1555. left them no room to doubt that some dan-
 These in- creased by the arrival of a nuncio from the Pope to the diet.
 gerous machination was forming against the
 peace or safety of the Protestant church. Ju-
 lius, elated with the unexpected return of the
 English nation from apostacy, began to flatter
 himself that, the spirit of mutiny and revolt ha-
 ving now spent its force, the happy period was
 come when the church might resume its ancient
 authority, and be obeyed by the people with
 the same tame submission as formerly. Full of
 these hopes he had sent Morone to Augsburgh,
 with instructions to employ his eloquence in
 order to excite the Germans to imitate the laud-
 able example of the English, and his political
 address in order to prevent any decree of the
 diet to the detriment of the Catholick faith. As
 Morone inherited from his father, the chan-
 cellor of Milan, uncommon talents for nego-
 ciation and intrigue, he could hardly have failed
 of embarrassing the measures of the Protestants
 in the diet, or of defeating whatever they aimed
 at obtaining in it for their farther security.

The death
 of Julius III.

BUT an unforeseen event delivered them from
 all the danger which they had reason to appre-
 hend from Morone's presence. Julius, by
 abandoning himself to pleasures and amuse-
 ments, no less unbecoming his age than his cha-
 racter, having contracted such habits of diffi-

pation, that any serious occupation, especially if attended with difficulty, became an intolerable burden to him, had long resisted the solicitations of his nephew to hold a consistory, because he expected there a violent opposition to his schemes in favour of that young man. But when all the pretexts which he could invent for eluding this request were exhausted, and at the same time his indolent aversion to business continued to grow upon him, he feigned indispotion rather than yield to his nephew's importunity; and that he might give the deceit a greater colour of probability, he not only confined himself to his apartment, but changed his usual diet and manner of life. By persisting too long in acting this ridiculous part, he contracted a real disease, of which he died in a few days, leaving his infamous minion the Cardinal de Monte to bear his name, and to disgrace the dignity which he had conferred upon him³⁵. As soon as Morone heard of his death, he set out abruptly from Augsburgh, where he had resided only a few days, that he might be present at the election of a new Pontiff.

BOOK XL.

1555.

March 23.

The nuncio sets out for Rome.

ONE cause of their suspicions and fears being thus removed, the Protestants soon became sensible of Ferdinand's reasons for wishing to

³⁵ Onuphr. Panvinius de vitis Pontificum, p. 320. Thuan. lib. xv. 517.

BOOK XI. fible that their conjectures concerning Ferdi-
 1555. nand's intentions, however specious, were ill-
 satisfy the founded, and that he had no thoughts of vio-
 Protestants. lating the articles favourable to them in the
 treaty of Passau. Charles, from the time that
 Maurice had defeated all his schemes in the
 Empire, and overturned the great system of
 religious and civil despotism, which he had
 almost established there, gave little attention to
 the internal government of Germany, and per-
 mitted his brother to pursue whatever measures
 he judged most salutary and expedient. Ferdi-
 nand, less ambitious and enterprising than the
 Emperor, instead of resuming a plan, which
 he, with power and resources so far superior,
 had failed of accomplishing, endeavoured to
 attach the Princes of the Empire to his family
 by an administration uniformly moderate and
 equitable. To this he gave, at present, par-
 ticular attention, because his situation at this
 juncture rendered it necessary to court their fa-
 vour and support with more than usual assiduity.

Charles had
 resumed his
 plan of al-
 tering the
 succession to
 the Empire.

CHARLES had again resumed his favourite
 project of acquiring the Imperial crown for his
 son Philip, which the ill reception it had met
 with when first proposed had obliged him to
 intermit, but had not persuaded him to relin-
 quish. This led him warmly to renew his

request to his brother that he would accept of some compensation for his prior right of succession, and sacrifice that to the grandeur of the house of Austria. Ferdinand, who was as little disposed, as formerly, to give such an extraordinary proof of self-denial, being sensible that, in order to defeat this scheme, not only the most inflexible firmness on his part, but a vigorous declaration from the Princes of the Empire in behalf of his title, were requisite; was willing to purchase their favour by gratifying them in every point that they deemed interesting or essential.

ON the other hand, the Turks, after having wrested from him great part of his Hungarian territories, were ready to attack the provinces still subject to his authority with a formidable army, against which he could bring no equal force into the field; unless the diet should grant him immediate and extraordinary aid. For this he could not hope, if the internal peace of the Empire were not established on a foundation solid in itself, and which should appear, even to the Protestants, so secure and so permanent, as might not only allow them to engage in a distant war with safety, but encourage them to act with vigour.

The Turks
were ready
to invade
Hungary.

BOOK XI. A STEP taken by the Protestants themselves, 1555. a short time after the opening of the diet, rendered him still more cautious of giving them any new cause of offence. As soon as the publication of Ferdinand's speech awakened the fears and suspicions which have been mentioned, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, together with the Landgrave of Hesse, met at Naumburg, and confirming the ancient treaty of confraternity which had long united their families, they added to it a new article, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to adhere to the confession of Augsbourg, and to maintain the doctrine which it contained in their respective dominions³⁶.

Ferdinand
zealous to
promote an
accommo-
dation.

FERDINAND, influenced by all these considerations, employed his utmost address in conducting the deliberations of the diet, so as not to excite the jealousy of a party on whose friendship he depended, and whose enmity, as they had not only taken the alarm, but had begun to prepare for their defence, he had so much reason to dread. The members of the diet readily agreed to Ferdinand's proposal of taking the state of religion into consideration, previous to any other business. But, as soon as they entered upon it, both parties discovered all the

³⁶ Chytræl Saxonia, 480.

zeal and animosity which a subject so interesting naturally engenders, and which the rancour of controversy, together with the violence of civil war, had inflamed to the highest pitch. Book XI.
1555.

THE Protestants contended, that the security which they claimed in consequence of the treaty of Passau should extend, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the doctrine of Luther, or who should hereafter embrace it. The pretensions of the Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics, having first of all asserted the Pope's right as the supreme and final judge with respect to all articles of faith, declared that though, on account of the present situation of the Empire, and for the sake of peace, they were willing to confirm the toleration granted, by the treaty of Passau, to such as had adopted the new opinions; they must insist that this indulgence should not be extended either to those cities which had conformed to the Interim, or to such ecclesiasticks as should for the future apostatize from the church of Rome. It was no easy matter to reconcile such opposite pretensions, which were supported, on each side, by the most elaborate arguments, and the greatest acrimony of expression, that the abilities or zeal of theologians long exercised in disputation could suggest. Ferdinand, however, by his address and perseverance; by softening some things on each side; by putting a favourable meaning upon others; by representing inces-

BOOK XI. fantly the necessity as well as the advantages of
 1555. concord; and by threatening, on some occasions, when all other considerations were disregarded, to dissolve the diet, brought them at length to a conclusion in which they all agreed.

Sept. 25. CONFORMABLY to this, a Recess was framed
 The peace approved of, and published with the usual for-
 of religion malities. The following are the chief articles
 established which it contained: That such Princes and cities as have declared their approbation of the Confession of Augsburgh, shall be permitted to profess the doctrine and exercise the worship which it authorises, without interruption or molestation from the Emperor, the King of the Romans, or any power or person whatsoever; That the Protestants, on their part, shall give no disquiet to the Princes and States who adhere to the tenets and rites of the Church of Rome; That, for the future, no attempt shall be made towards terminating religious differences, but by the gentle and pacifick methods of persuasion and conference; That the Popish ecclesiasticks shall claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as receive the Confession of Augsburgh; That such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the church, previous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the Imperial chamber on that account; That the supreme civil power in

every state shall have right to establish what form of doctrine and worship it shall deem proper, and if any of its subjects refuse to conform to these, shall permit them to remove with all their effects wherever they please; That if any prelate or ecclesiastick shall hereafter abandon the Romish religion, he shall instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and it shall be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination is vested, to proceed immediately to an election, as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system³⁷. Book XI.
1555.

SUCH are the capital articles in this famous Recess, which is the basis of religious peace in Germany, and the bond of union among its various states, the sentiments of which are so extremely different with respect to points the most interesting as well as important. In our age and nation, to which the idea of Toleration is familiar, and its beneficial effects well known, it may seem strange, that a method of terminating their dissensions, so suitable to the mild and charitable spirit of the Christian religion, did not sooner occur to the contending parties. But this expedient, however salutary, was so repugnant to the sentiments and practice of

Reflections
on the pro-
gress of the
principles of
toleration.

³⁷ Sleid. 620. F. Paul, 368. Pallav. P. II. 161.

BOOK XI. Christians during many ages, that it did not
1555. lie obvious to discovery. Among the ancient heathens, all whose deities were local and tutelary, diversity of sentiment concerning the object or rites of religious worship seems to have been no source of animosity, because the acknowledging veneration to be due to any one God, did not imply denial of the existence or the power of any other God; nor were the modes and rites of worship established in one country incompatible with those which other nations approved of and observed. Thus the errors in their system of theology were of such a nature as to be productive of concord; and notwithstanding the amazing number of their deities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a sociable and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the pagan world.

BUT when the Christian revelation declared one Supreme Being to be the sole object of religious veneration, prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whoever admitted the truth of it, held, of consequence, every other mode of religion to be absurd and impious. Hence the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they laboured to overturn every other form of worship. They employed, however, for this purpose no methods but such

as suited the nature of religion. By the force of powerful arguments, they convinced the understandings of men; by the charms of superior virtue, they allured and captivated their hearts. At length the civil power declared in favour of Christianity; and though numbers, imitating the example of their superiors, crowded into the church, many still adhered to their ancient superstitions. Enraged at their obstinacy, the ministers of religion, whose zeal was still unabated, though their sanctity and virtue were much diminished, forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and of the arguments which they ought to have employed, that they armed the Imperial power against these unhappy men, and as they could not persuade, they tried to compel them to believe.

AT the same time, controversies concerning articles of faith multiplied, from various causes, among Christians themselves, and the same unhallowed weapons which had first been used against the enemies of their religion, were turned against each other. Every zealous disputant endeavoured to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and each in his turn employed the secular arm to crush or to exterminate his opponents. Not long after, the bishops of Rome put in their claim to infallibility in explaining

BOOK XI. articles of faith, and deciding points in contro-
1555. versy; and, bold as the pretension was, they, by their artifices and perseverance, imposed on the credulity of mankind, and brought them to recognise it. To doubt or deny any doctrine to which these unerring instructors had given the sanction of their approbation, was held to be not only a resisting of truth, but an act of rebellion against their sacred authority: and the secular power, of which by various arts they had acquired the absolute direction, was instantly employed to avenge both.

THUS Europe had been accustomed, during many centuries, to see speculative opinions propagated or defended by force; the charity and mutual forbearance which Christianity recommends with so much warmth, were forgotten, the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment were unheard of, and not only the idea of toleration, but even the word itself, in the sense now affixed to it, was unknown. A right to extirpate error by force, was universally allowed to be the prerogative of such as possessed the knowledge of truth; and as each party of Christians believed that they had got possession of this invaluable attainment, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the rights which it was supposed to convey. The Roman catholicks, as their system rested on

the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and heretical innovators who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the Princes of their party to check such as presumed to impugn or to oppose it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, upon such as called in question any article in their creeds. To their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a symptom of diffidence in the goodness of their cause, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in its defence all those means which it was supposed truth had a right to employ. Book XI.
1555.

IT was towards the close of the seventeenth century, before Toleration, under its present form, was admitted first into the republick of the United Provinces, and from thence introduced into England. Long experience of the calamities flowing from mutual persecution, the influence of free government, the light and humanity acquired by the progress of science, together

BOOK XI. with the prudence and authority of the civil ma-
 1555. gistrate, were all requisite in order to establish a
 regulation, so repugnant to the ideas which all
 the different sects had adopted, from mistaken
 conceptions concerning the nature of religion
 and the rights of truth, or which all of them
 had derived from the erroneous maxims esta-
 blished by the church of Rome.

Advantages
 of the reli-
 gious peace
 to the Lu-
 therans;

THE Recess of Augsburgh, it is evident, was
 founded on no such liberal and enlarged senti-
 ments concerning freedom of religious inquiry
 or the nature of Toleration. It was nothing
 more than a scheme of pacification, which poli-
 tical considerations alone had suggested to the
 contending parties, and regard for their mutual
 tranquillity and safety had rendered necessary.
 Of this there can be no stronger proof than an
 article in the Recess itself, by which the benefits
 of the pacification are declared to extend only
 to the Catholicks on the one side, and to such
 as adhered to the confession of Augsburgh on the
 other. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin
 remained, in consequence of that exclusion,
 without any protection from the rigour of the
 laws denounced against hereticks. Nor did they
 obtain any legal security, until the treaty of
 Westphalia, near a century after this period,
 provided, that they should be admitted to enjoy,

in as ample a manner as the Lutherans, all the Book XI. advantages and protection which the Recess of 1555. Augsburgh affords.

BUT if the followers of Luther were highly ^{and to the} pleased with the security which they acquired ^{Catholicks.} by this Recess, such as adhered to the ancient system had no less reason to be satisfied with that article in it, which preserved entire to the Roman catholick church the benefices of such ecclesiasticks as should hereafter renounce its doctrines. This article, known in Germany by the name of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, was apparently so conformable to the idea and to the rights of an established church, and it seemed so equitable to prevent revenues, which had been originally appropriated for the maintenance of persons attached to a certain system, from being alienated to any other purpose, that the Protestants, though they foresaw its consequences, were obliged to relinquish their opposition to it. As the Roman catholick Princes of the Empire have taken care to see this article exactly observed in every case where there was an opportunity of putting it in execution, it has proved the great barrier of the Romish church in Germany against the Reformation; and as, from this period, the same temptation of interest did not allure ecclesiasticks to relinquish the esta-

BOOK XI. blished system, there have been few of that
 1555. order, who have loved truth with such disinterested and ardent affection, as for its sake to abandon the rich benefices which they had in possession.

Marcellus
 II. elected
 Pope.
 April 9.

His character.

DURING the sitting of the diet, Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal of Santa Croce, was elected Pope in room of Julius. He, in imitation of Adrian, did not change his name on being exalted to the papal chair. As he equalled that Pontiff in purity of intention, while he excelled him much in the arts of government, and still more in knowledge of the state and genius of the papal court; as he had capacity to discern what reformation it needed, as well as what it could bear; such regulations were expected from his virtue and wisdom, as would have removed many of its grossest and most flagrant corruptions, and have contributed towards reconciling to the church, such as from indignation at these enormities had abandoned its communion. But this excellent Pontiff was only shown to the church, and immediately snatched away. The confinement in the conclave had impaired his health, and the fatigue of tedious ceremonies upon his accession, together with too intense and anxious application of mind to the schemes of improvement which he meditated, exhausted

exhausted so entirely the vigour of his feeble Book XL
constitution, that he sickened on the twelfth, and 1555.
died on the twentieth day after his election³⁸.

ALL the refinements in artifice and intrigue, The election
of Paul IV.
peculiar to conclaves, were displayed in that
which was held for electing a successor to Mar-
cellus; the Cardinals of the Imperial and French
factions labouring, with equal ardour, to gain
the necessary number of suffrages for one of
their own party. But, after a struggle of no
long duration, though conducted with all the
warmth and eagerness natural to men contend-
ing for so great an object, they united in chusing May 23.
John Peter Caraffa, the eldest member of the
sacred college, and the son of Count Montorio,
a nobleman of an illustrious family in the king-
dom of Naples. The address and influence of
Cardinal Farnese, who favoured his pretensions,
Caraffa's own merit, and perhaps his great age,
which soothed all the disappointed candidates,
with the near prospect of a new vacancy, con-
curred in bringing about this speedy union of
suffrages. In order to testify his respect for the
memory of Paul III. by whom he had been
created Cardinal, as well as his gratitude to the
family of Farnese, he assumed the name of
Paul IV.

³⁸ Thuan. 520. F. Paul. 365. Onuph. Panvin. 321, &c.

BOOK XI.

1555.

His rise and
character.

THE choice of a prelate of such a singular character, and who had long held a course extremely different from that which usually led to the dignity now conferred upon him, filled the Italians, who had nearest access to observe his manners and deportment, with astonishment, and kept them in suspense and solicitude with regard to his future conduct. Paul, though born in a rank of life which, without any other merit, might have secured to him the highest ecclesiastical preferments, had from his early years applied to study with all the assiduity of a man, who had nothing but his personal accomplishments to render him conspicuous. By means of this he not only acquired profound skill in scholastick theology, but added to that a considerable knowledge of the learned languages and of polite literature, the study of which had been lately revived in Italy, and was pursued at this time with great ardour. His mind, however, naturally gloomy and severe, was more formed to imbibe the sour spirit of the former, than to receive any tincture of elegance or liberality of sentiment from the latter; so that he acquired rather the qualities and passions of a recluse ecclesiastick, than the talents necessary for the conduct of great affairs. Accordingly, when he entered into orders, although several rich benefices were bestowed upon him, and he was early employed as nuncio in dif-

ferent courts, he soon became disgusted with that course of life, and languished to be in a situation more suited to his taste and temper. With this view he resigned at once all his ecclesiastical preferments, and having instituted an order of regular priests, whom he denominated Theatines, from the name of the archbishoprick which he had held, he associated himself as a member of their fraternity, conformed to all the rigorous rules to which he had subjected them, and preferred the solitude of a monastick life, with the honour of being the founder of a new order, to all the vast objects which the court of Rome presented to his ambition.

IN this retreat he remained for many years, until Paul III. induced by the fame of his sanctity and knowledge, called him to Rome, in order to consult with him concerning the measures which might be most proper and effectual for the suppressing of heresy, and re-establishing the ancient authority of the church. Having thus allured him from his solitude, the Pope, partly by his entreaties, and partly by his authority, prevailed on him to accept of a Cardinal's hat, to re-assume the benefices which he had resigned, and to return again into the usual path of ecclesiastical ambition which he seemed to have relinquished. But, during two successive Pontificates, under the first of which

BOOK XI. 1555. the court of Rome was the most artful and interested, and under the second the most dissolute of any in Europe, Caraffa retained his monastick austerity. He was an avowed and bitter enemy not only of all innovation in opinion, but of every irregularity in practice; he was the chief instrument in establishing the formidable and odious tribunal of the Inquisition in the papal territories; he appeared a violent advocate on all occasions for the jurisdiction and discipline of the church, and a severe censurer of every measure which seemed to flow from motives of policy or interest, rather than from zeal for the honour of the ecclesiastical order, and the dignity of the Holy See. Under a prelate of such a character, the Roman courtiers expected a severe and violent Pontificate, during which the principles of sound policy would be sacrificed to the narrow prejudices of priestly zeal; while the people of Rome were apprehensive of seeing the sordid and forbidding rigour of monastick manners substituted in place of the gaiety or magnificence to which they had long been accustomed in the papal court. These apprehensions Paul was extremely solicitous to remove. At his first entrance upon the administration he laid aside that austerity which had hitherto distinguished his person and family, and when the master of his household inquired in what manner he would chuse to live, he haughti-

The first
steps of his
administra-
tion.

ly replied, "As becomes a great Prince." He BOOK XI.
 ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be 1555.
 conducted with more than usual magnificence;
 and endeavoured to render himself popular by
 several acts of liberality and indulgence towards
 the inhabitants of Rome ³⁹.

His natural severity of temper, however, The excess
 would have soon returned upon him, and would of his at-
 have justified the conjectures of the courtiers, tachment
 as well as the fears of the people, if he had to his ne-
 not, immediately after his election, called to phews.
 Rome two of his nephews, the sons of his bro-
 ther the Count of Montorio. The eldest he
 promoted to be governor of Rome. The
 youngest, who had hitherto served as a soldier
 of fortune in the armies of Spain or France,
 and whose disposition as well as manners were
 still more foreign from the clerical character
 than his profession, he created a Cardinal, and
 appointed him legate of Bologna, the second
 office in power and dignity which a Pope can
 bestow. These marks of favour, no less sudden
 than extravagant, he accompanied with the most
 unbounded confidence and attachment, and for-
 getting all his former severe maxims, he seemed
 to have no other object than the aggrandizing

³⁹ Platina, p. 327. Castaldo Vita di Paolo IV. Rom.
 1615. p. 70.

BOOK XI. of his nephews. Their ambition, unfortunately
 1555. for Paul, was too aspiring to be satisfied with
 Their ambi- any moderate acquisition. They had seen the
 tious pro- family of Medici raised by the interest of the
 jects. Popes of that house to supreme power in Tuscany; Paul III. had by his abilities and address secured the duchies of Parma and Placentia to the family of Farnese. They aimed at some establishment for themselves, no less considerable and independent; and as they could not expect that the Pope would carry his indulgence towards them so far as to secularize any part of the patrimony of the church, they had no prospect of attaining what they wished, but by dismembering the Imperial dominions in Italy, in hopes of seizing some portion of them. This alone they would have deemed a sufficient reason for sowing the seeds of discord between their uncle and the Emperor.

Reasons of
 their disgust
 with the
 Emperor.

BUT Cardinal Caraffa had, besides, private reasons which filled him with hatred and enmity to the Emperor. While he served in the Spanish troops he had not received such marks of honour and distinction as he thought due to his birth and merit. Disgusted with this ill-usage, he had abruptly quitted the Imperial service; and entering into that of France, he had not only met with such a reception as soothed his

vanity, and attached him to the French interest, but by contracting an intimate friendship with Strozzi, who commanded the French army in Tuscany, he had imbibed a mortal antipathy to the Emperor as the great enemy to the liberty and independence of the Italian states. Nor was the Pope himself indisposed to receive impressions unfavourable to the Emperor. The opposition given to his election by the Cardinals of the Imperial faction, left in his mind deep resentment, which was heightened by the remembrance of ancient injuries from Charles or his ministers.

OF this his nephews took advantage, and employed various devices, in order to exasperate him beyond a possibility of reconciliation. They aggravated every circumstance which could be deemed any indication of the Emperor's dissatisfaction with his promotion; they read to him an intercepted letter, in which Charles taxed the Cardinals of his party with negligence or incapacity in not having defeated Paul's election: They pretended, at one time, to have discovered a conspiracy formed by the Imperial minister and Cosmo di Medici against the Pope's life; they alarmed him, at another, with accounts of a plot for assassinating themselves. By these artifices, they kept his mind, which was natu-

Book XI.
1555.
They endeavoured to alienate the Pope from the Emperor.

BOOK XI. rally violent, and become suspicious from old
 1555. age, in such perpetual agitation, as precipitated him into measures, which otherwise he would have been the first person to condemn⁴⁰. He seized some of the Cardinals who were most attached to the Emperor, and confined them in the castle of St. Angelo; he persecuted the Colonnas and other Roman barons, the ancient retainers to the Imperial faction, with the utmost severity; and discovering on all occasions his distrust, fear, or hatred of the Emperor, he began at last to court the friendship of the French King, and seemed willing to throw himself absolutely upon him for support and protection.

Induce him
 to court the
 King of
 France.

THIS was the very point to which his nephews wished to bring him as most favourable to their ambitious schemes; and as the accomplishment of these depended on their uncle's life, whose advanced age did not admit of losing a moment unnecessarily in negotiations, instead of treating at second hand with the French ambassador at Rome, they prevailed on the Pope to dispatch a person of confidence directly to the court of France, with such overtures on his part as they

⁴⁰ Ripamontii Hist. Patriæ, lib. iii. 1146. Ap. Græv. Thes. vol. ii. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 615. Adriani Istor. i. 906.

hoped would not be rejected. He proposed an alliance offensive and defensive between Henry and the Pope; that they should attack the dutchy of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples with their united forces; and if their arms should prove successful, that the ancient republican form of government should be re-established in the former, and the investiture of the latter should be granted to one of the French King's sons, after reserving a certain territory which should be annexed to the patrimony of the church, together with an independent and princely establishment for each of the Pope's nephews. Book XI.
1555.

THE King, allured by these specious projects, gave a most favourable audience to the envoy. But when the matter was proposed in council, the constable Montmorency, whose natural caution and aversion to daring enterprises increased with age and experience, remonstrated with great vehemence against the alliance. He put Henry in mind how fatal to France every expedition into Italy had been during three successive reigns, and if such an enterprize had proved too great for the nation even when its strength and finances were entire, there was no reason to hope for success, if it should be attempted now when both were exhausted by extraordinary Constable
Montmo-
rency oppo-
ses the alli-
ance with
the Pope.

BOOK XI. efforts during wars, which had lasted, with little
 1555. interruption, almost half a century. He represented the manifest imprudence of entering into engagements with a Pope of fourscore, as any system which rested on no better foundation than his life, must be extremely precarious, and upon the event of his death, which could not be distant, the face of things, together with the inclination of the Italian States, must instantly change, and the whole weight of the war be left upon the King alone. To these considerations he added the near prospect which they now had of a final accommodation with the Emperor, who having taken the resolution of retiring from the world, wished to transmit his kingdoms in peace to his son; and he concluded with representing the absolute certainty of drawing the arms of England upon France, if it should appear that the re-establishment of tranquillity in Europe was prevented by the ambition of its Monarch.

The duke
 of Guise fa-
 vours it.

THESE arguments, weighty in themselves, and urged by a minister of great authority, would probably have determined the King to decline any connexion with the Pope. But the Duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, who delighted no less in bold and dangerous undertakings than Montmorency

shunned them, declared warmly for an alliance with the Pope. The cardinal expected to be entrusted with the conduct of the negotiations in the court of Rome to which this alliance would give rise; the duke hoped to obtain the command of the army which would be appointed to invade Naples; and considering themselves as already in these stations, vast projects opened to their aspiring and unbounded ambition. Their credit, together with the influence of the King's mistress, the famous Diana of Poitiers, who was, at that time, entirely devoted to the interest of the family of Guise, more than counterbalanced all Montmorency's prudent remonstrances, and prevailed on an inconsiderate Prince to listen to the overtures of the Pope's envoy.

THE cardinal of Lorrain, as he had expected, was immediately sent to Rome with full powers to conclude the treaty, and to concert measures for carrying it into execution. Before he could reach that city, the Pope, either from reflecting on the danger and uncertain issue of all military operations, or through the address of the Imperial ambassador, who had been at great pains to soothe him, had not only begun to lose much of the ardour with which he had set on foot the negotiation with France, but even discovered great

Book XL
1555.
Cardinal of
Lorrain sent
to negotiate
with the
Pope.

BOOK XI. unwillingness to continue it. In order to rouse
 1555. him from this fit of despondency, and to rekindle his former rage, his nephews had recourse to the arts which they had already practised with so much success. They alarmed him with new representations of the Emperor's hostile intentions, with fresh accounts which they had received of threats uttered against him by the Imperial ministers, and with new discoveries which they pretended to have made of conspiracies formed, and just ready to take effect against his life.

Paul enraged at the proceedings of the diet of Augsburgh;

BUT these artifices, having been formerly tried, would not have operated a second time with the same force, nor have made the impression which they wished, if Paul had not been excited by an offence of that kind which he was least able to bear. He received advice of the recess of the diet of Augsburgh, and of the toleration which was thereby granted to the Protestants, and this threw him at once into such transports of passion against the Emperor and King of the Romans, as carried him headlong into all the violent measures of his nephews. Full of high ideas with respect to the papal prerogative, and animated with the fiercest zeal against heresy, he considered the liberty of deciding concerning religious matters, which had

been assumed by an assembly composed chiefly of laymen, as a presumptuous and unpardonable encroachment on that jurisdiction which belonged to him alone; and regarded the indulgence which had been given to the Protestants as an impious act of that power which the Diet had usurped. He complained loudly of both to the Imperial ambassador. He insisted that the recess of the Diet should immediately be declared illegal and void. He threatened the Emperor and King of the Romans, in case they should either refuse or delay to gratify him in this particular, with the severest effects of his vengeance. He talked in a tone of authority and command which might have suited a pontiff of the twelfth century, when a papal decree was sufficient to have shaken, or to have overturned the throne of the greatest Monarch, but which was altogether improper in that age, especially when addressed to the minister of a Prince who had so often made Pontiffs more formidable feel the weight of his power. The ambassador, however, heard all his extravagant propositions and menaces with much patience, and endeavoured to sooth him by putting him in mind of the extreme distress to which the Emperor was reduced at Inspruck, of the engagements which he had come under to the Protestants in order to extricate himself, of the

BOOK XI.

1555.

BOOK XI. necessity of fulfilling these, and of accommodat-
 1555. ing his conduct to the situation of his affairs. But weighty as these considerations were, they made no impression on the mind of the haughty and bigoted pontiff, who instantly replied. That he would absolve him by his apostolick authority from those impious engagements, and even command him not to perform them; that in carrying on the cause of God and of the church, no regard ought to be had to the maxims of worldly prudence and policy; and that the ill success of the Emperor's schemes in Germany might justly be deemed a mark of the divine displeasure against him, on account of his having paid little attention to the former, while he regulated his conduct entirely by the latter. Having said this, he turned from the ambassador abruptly without waiting for a reply.

and exasperated by his nephews,

His nephews took care to applaud and cherish these sentiments, and easily wrought up his arrogant mind, fraught with all the monkish ideas concerning the extent of the papal supremacy, to such a pitch of resentment against the house of Austria, and to such an high opinion of his own power, that he talked continually of his being the successor of those who had deposed Kings and Emperors; that he was exalted as head over them all, and would trample such

as opposed him under his feet. In this disposition, the cardinal of Lorrain found the Pope, and easily persuaded him to sign a treaty, which had for its object the ruin of a Prince against whom he was so highly exasperated. The stipulations in the treaty were much the same as had been proposed by the Pope's envoy at Paris; and it was agreed to keep the whole transaction secret until their united forces should be ready to take the field ⁴¹.

BOOK XI.
1555.
Dec. 15.
concludes a
treaty with
France.

DURING the negociation of this treaty at Rome and Paris, an event happened which seemed to render the fears which had given rise to it vain, and the operations which were to follow upon it unnecessary. This was the Emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions to his son Philip; together with his resolution to withdraw entirely from any concern in business or the affairs of this world, in order that he might spend the remainder of his days in retirement and solitude. Though it requires neither deep reflection nor extraordinary discernment to discover that the state of royalty is not exempt from cares and disappointment; though most of those who are exalted to a throne find solicitude, and satiety, and disgust to be their

The Empe-
ror resolves
to resign his
hereditary
dominions.

⁴¹ Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 163. F. Pauli, 365. Thuan. lib. xv. 525. lib. xvi. 540. Mém. de Riber, ii. 609, &c.

BOOK XI. perpetual attendants in that envied pre-emi-
 1555. nence, yet, to descend voluntarily from the
 supreme to a subordinate station, and to relin-
 quish the possession of power in order to attain
 the enjoyment of happiness, seems to be an effort
 too great for the human mind. Several instances,
 indeed, occur in history, of Monarchs who have
 quitted a throne, and have ended their days in
 retirement. But they were either weak Princes
 who took this resolution rashly, and repented
 of it as soon as it was taken; or unfortunate
 Princes from whose hands some strong rival
 had wrested their sceptre, and compelled them
 to descend with reluctance into a private station.
 Diocletian is perhaps the only Prince capable
 of holding the reins of government, who ever
 resigned them from deliberate choice, and who
 continued during many years to enjoy the
 tranquillity of retirement without fetching one
 penitent sigh, or casting back one look of de-
 sire, towards the power or dignity which he had
 abandoned.

The motives
 of this re-
 signation.

No wonder, then, that Charles's resignation
 should fill all Europe with astonishment, and
 give rise, both among his contemporaries, and
 among the historians of that period, to various
 conjectures concerning the motives which deter-
 mined a Prince, whose ruling passion had been
 uniformly

uniformly the love of power, at the age of fifty-
 fix, when objects of ambition operate with full
 force on the mind, and are pursued with the
 greatest ardour, to take a resolution so singular
 and unexpected. But while many authors have
 imputed it to motives so frivolous and fantasti-
 cal, as can hardly be supposed to influence any
 reasonable mind; while others have imagined
 it to be the result of some profound scheme of
 policy; historians more intelligent, and better
 informed, neither ascribe it to caprice, nor search
 for mysterious secrets of state, where simple and
 obvious causes will fully account for the Empe-
 ror's conduct. Charles had been attacked early
 in life with the gout, and notwithstanding all the
 precautions of the most skilful physicians, the
 violence of the distemper increased as he ad-
 vanced in age, and the fits became every year
 more frequent, as well as more intolerable. Not
 only was the vigour of his constitution broken,
 but the faculties of his mind were impaired by
 the excruciating torments which he endured.
 During the continuance of the fits, he was alto-
 gether incapable of applying to business, and
 even when they began to abate, as it was only
 at intervals that he could attend to what was se-
 rious, he gave up a great part of his time to
 trifling and even childish occupations, which
 served to relieve or to amuse his mind, enfeebled
 and worn out with excess of pain. Under

BOOK XI.

1555.

BOOK XI. these circumstances, the conduct of such affairs
1555. as occurred of course, in governing so many kingdoms, was a burden more than sufficient; but to push forward and complete the vast schemes, which the ambition of his more active years had formed, or to keep in view and carry on the same great system of policy, extending to every nation in Europe, and connected with the operations of every different court, were functions which so far exceeded his strength, that they oppressed and overwhelmed his mind. As he had been long accustomed to view the business of every department, whether civil, or military, or ecclesiastical, with his own eyes, and to decide concerning it according to his own ideas, it gave him the utmost pain when he felt his infirmities increase so fast upon him, that he was obliged to commit the conduct of all affairs to his ministers. He imputed every misfortune which befel him, and every miscarriage that happened, even when the former was unavoidable, and the latter accidental, to his inability to take the inspection of business himself. He complained of his hard fortune, in being opposed, in his declining years, to a rival, who was in the full vigour of life, and that while Henry could take and execute all his resolutions in person, he should now be reduced, both in council and in action, to rely on the abilities of other men. Having thus grown old before his

time, he wisely judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in some solitude, than to expose them any longer to the publick eye; and prudently determined not to forfeit the fame, or lose the acquisitions of his better years, by struggling, with a vain obstinacy, to retain the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with steadiness, or to guide them with address ⁴².

⁴² Dom Levesque, in his memoirs of Cardinal Granvelle, gives a reason for the Emperor's resignation, which, as I recollect, is not mentioned by any other historian. He says, that the Emperor having ceded the government of the kingdom of Naples and the dutchy of Milan to his son, upon his marriage with the Queen of England; Philip, notwithstanding the advice and intreaties of his father, removed most of the ministers and officers whom he had employed in those countries, and appointed creatures of his own, to fill the places which they held. That he aspired openly, and with little delicacy, to obtain a share in the administration of affairs in the Low Countries. That he endeavoured to thwart the Emperor's measures, and to limit his authority, behaving towards him sometimes with inattention, and sometimes with haughtiness. That Charles finding that he must either yield to his son, or openly contend with him, in order to avoid ~~there~~, which were both disagreeable and mortifying to a father, he took the resolution of resigning his crowns, and of retiring from the world, vol. i. p. 24, &c. Dom Levesque derived his information concerning these curious facts, which he relates very briefly, from the original papers of cardinal Granvelle. But as that vast collection of papers, which has been preserved and arranged by M. L'Abbé Boizot of Besançon, though one of the most valuable historical monuments of the

BOOK XI. But though Charles had revolved this scheme
 1555. in his mind for several years, and had commu-
 Circumstan- nicated it to his sisters the dowager Queens of
 ces which France and Hungary, who not only approved
 had retarded it. of his intention, but offered to accompany him
 to whatever place of retreat he should chuse;
 several things had hitherto prevented his carry-
 ing it into execution. He could not think of
 loading his son with the government of so many
 kingdoms, until he should attain such maturity
 of age, and of abilities, as would enable him
 to sustain that weighty burden. But as Philip
 had now reached his twenty-eighth year, and
 had been early accustomed to business, for which
 he discovered both inclination and capacity, it
 can hardly be imputed to the partiality of pa-
 ternal affection, that his scruples, with regard
 to this point, were entirely removed; and that
 he thought he might place him, without further
 hesitation or delay, on the throne which he was
 about to abandon. His mother's situation had
 been another obstruction in his way. For al-
 though she had continued almost fifty years in
 confinement, and under the same disorder of

sixteenth century, and which cannot fail of throwing much
 light on the transactions of Charles V. is not published, I
 cannot determine what degree of credit should be given to this
 account of Charles's resignation. I have therefore taken no
 notice of it in relating this event.

mind which concern for her husband's death Book XI.
had brought upon her, yet the government of 1555.
Spain was still vested in her jointly with the
Emperor; her name was inserted together with
his, in all the publick writs issued in that king-
dom; and such was the fond attachment of the
Spaniards to her, that they would probably have
scrupled to recognise Philip as their sovereign,
unless she had consented to assume him as her
partner on the throne. Her utter incapacity for
business rendered it impossible to obtain her con-
sent. But her death, which happened this year
removed this difficulty; and as Charles, upon
that event, became sole Monarch of Spain, it
left the succession open to his son. The war
with France had likewise been a reason for re-
taining the administration of affairs in his own
hand, as he was extremely solicitous to have
terminated it, that he might have given up his
kingdoms to his son at peace with all the world.
But as Henry had discovered no disposition to
close with any of his overtures, and had even
rejected proposals of peace, which were equal
and moderate, in a tone that seemed to indicate
a fixed purpose of continuing hostilities, he saw
that it was vain to wait longer in expectation
of an event, which, however desirable, was al-
together uncertain.

BOOK XI. As this, then, appeared to be the proper juncture for executing the scheme which he had long meditated, Charles resolved to resign his kingdoms to his son, with a solemnity suitable to the importance of the transaction, and to perform this last act of sovereignty with such formal pomp, as might leave a lasting impression on the minds not only of his subjects but of his successor. With this view he called Philip out of England, where the peevish temper of his Queen, which increased with her despair of having issue, rendered him extremely unhappy; and the jealousy of the English left him no hopes of obtaining the direction of their affairs. Having assembled the States of the Low Countries at Brussels, on the twenty-fifth of October, Charles seated himself, for the last time, in the chair of state, on one side of which was placed his son, and on the other his sister the Queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, with a splendid retinue of the grandees of Spain and princes of the Empire standing behind him. The president of the council of Flanders, by his command, explained in a few words, his intention in calling this extraordinary meeting of the States. He then read the instrument of resignation, by which Charles surrendered to his son Philip all his territories, jurisdiction, and authority in the Low Countries, absolving his

1555.

The formalities with which he executed it.

subjects there from their oath of allegiance to him, which he required them to transfer to Philip his lawful heir, and to serve him with the same loyalty and zeal which they had manifested during so long a course of years, in support of his government. Book XI,
1555.

CHARLES then rose from his seat, and leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, because he was unable to stand without support, he addressed himself to the audience, and from a paper which he held in his hand, in order to assist his memory, he recounted, with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to publick objects, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of his ease, and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure; that either in a pacifick or hostile manner, he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often, and had made eleven voyages by sea; that while his health permitted him to discharge his duty, and the vigour of his constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous office of

BOOK XI
1555. governing such extensive dominions, he had never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; that now when his health was broken, and his vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, his growing infirmities admonished him to retire, nor was he so fond of reigning, as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which was no longer able to protect his subjects, or to render them happy; that instead of a sovereign worn out with diseases, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth all the attention and sagacity of maturer years; that if, during the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the pressure of so many and great affairs, and amidst the attention which he had been obliged to give to them, he had either neglected or injured any of his subjects, he now implored their forgiveness; that, for his part, he should ever retain a grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, and would carry the remembrance of it along with him to the place of his retreat, as his sweetest consolation, as well as the best reward for all his services, and in his last prayers to Almighty God would pour forth his ardent wishes for their welfare.

THEN turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand, "If, says he, I had left you by my death this rich inheritance, to which I have made such large additions, some regard would have been justly due to my memory on that account; but now when I voluntarily resign to you what I might have still retained, I may well expect the warmest expressions of thanks on your part. With these, however, I dispense, and shall consider your concern for the welfare of your subjects, and your love of them, as the best and most acceptable testimony of your gratitude to me. It is in your power, by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I, this day, give of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholick faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people; and if the time shall ever come, when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities, that you can resign your sceptre to him, with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you."

BOOK XL.

1555.

BOOK XI.

1555.

As soon as Charles had finished this long address to his subjects and to their new sovereign, he sunk into the chair, exhausted and ready to faint with the fatigue of such an extraordinary effort. During his discourse, the whole audience melted into tears, some from admiration of his magnanimity, others softened by the expressions of tenderness towards his son, and of love to his people; and all were affected with the deepest sorrow at losing a sovereign, who had distinguished the Netherlands, his native country, with particular marks of his regard and attachment.

PHILIP then arose from his knees, and after returning thanks to his father, with a low and submissive voice, for the royal gift which his unexampled bounty had bestowed upon him, he addressed the assembly of the States, and regretting his inability to speak the Flemish language with such facility as to express what he felt on this interesting occasion, as well as what he owed to his good subjects in the Netherlands, he begged that they would permit Granvelle, bishop of Arras, to deliver what he had given him in charge to speak in his name. Granvelle, in a long discourse, expatiated on the zeal with which Philip was animated for the good of his subjects, on his resolution to devote all his time and talents to the promoting of

their happiness , and on his intention to imitate BOOK XI.
his father's example in distinguishing the Nether- 1555.
lands with peculiar marks of his regard. Maës,
a lawyer of great eloquence, replied , in name
of the States , with large professions of their
fidelity and affection to their new sovereign.

Then Mary , Queen-dowager of Hungary , 1556.
resigned the regency , with which she had been
entrusted by her brother during the space of
twenty-five years. Next day Philip , in pre- January 6.
sence of the States , took the usual oaths to
maintain the rights and privileges of his sub-
jects ; and all the members , in their own name,
and in that of their constituents , swore alle-
giance to him ⁴³.

A FEW weeks thereafter , Charles , in an
assembly no less splendid , and with a ceremo-
nial equally pompous , resigned to his son the
crowns of Spain , with all the territories depend-
ing on them , both in the old and in the new
world. Of all these vast possessions , he reserved
nothing for himself but an annual pension of
an hundred thousand crowns , to defray the
charges of his family , and to afford him a small
sum for acts of beneficence and charity ⁴⁴.

⁴³ Godleveus , Relatio Abdicationis Car. V. ap. Goldast.
Polit. Imper. p. 377. Strada de Bello Belgico , lib. i. p. 5.

⁴⁴ The Emperor's resignation is an event not only of such
importance , but of such a nature , that the precise date of

BOOK XI. As he had fixed on a place of retreat in
 1556. Spain, hoping that the dryness of the air and
 Resolves to fix his resi- warmth of the climate in that country might
 dence in Spain. mitigate the violence of his disease, which had
 been much increased by the moisture of the air
 and the rigour of the winters in the Nether-
 lands, he was extremely impatient to embark
 for that kingdom, and to disengage himself

it, one would expect, should have been ascertained by histo-
 rians with the greatest accuracy. There is, however, an
 amazing and unaccountable diversity among them with re-
 gard to this point. All agree, that the deed by which
 Charles transferred to his son his dominions in the Nether-
 lands, bears date at Brussels the 25th of October. San-
 doval fixes on the 28th of October as the day on which the
 ceremony of resignation happened, and he was present at
 the transaction, vol. ii. p. 592. Godleveus, who published
 a treatise de Abdicatione Caroli V. fixes the publick cere-
 mony, as well as the date of the instrument of resignation,
 on the 25th. Pere Barre, I know not on what authority,
 fixes it on the 24th of November, Hist. D'Allem. viii. 976.
 Herrera agrees with Godleveus in sentiment, tom. i. 155.
 as likewise does Pallavicini, whose authority with respect
 to dates, and every thing where a minute accuracy is re-
 quisite, is of great weight, Hist. lib. xvi. p. 168. Histo-
 rians differ no less with regard to the day on which Charles
 resigned the crown of Spain to his son. According to M.
 de Thou, it was a month after his having resigned his do-
 minions in the Netherlands, i. e. about the 25th of Novem-
 ber, Thuan. lib. xvi. p. 571. According to Sandoval, it
 was on the 16th of January, 1556, Sand. ii. 603. Antonio
 de Vera agrees with him, Epitome de la Vida de Car. V.
 p. 110. According to Pallavicini, it was on the 17th,

entirely from business, which he found to be impossible while he remained in Brussels. But his physicians remonstrated so strongly against his venturing to sea at that cold and boisterous season of the year, that he consented, though with reluctance, to put off his voyage for some months.

BOOK XI.
1556.

Obliged to remain for some time in the Netherlands.

By yielding to their intreaties, he had the satisfaction, before he left the Low Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France, which he ardently wished for, not only on his son's account, but that he might

Promotes the negotiation for peace.

Pal. lib. xvi. p. 168. and with him Herrera agrees, Vida de D. Felipe, tom. i. p. 233. But Ferreras fixes it on the first day of January, Hist. Gener. tom. ix. p. 371. M. de Beaucaigne supposes the resignation of the crown of Spain to have been executed a few days after the resignation of the Netherlands, Com. de Reb. Gall. p. 879. It is remarkable, that in the treaty of truce at Vaucelles, though Charles had made over all his dominions to his son some weeks previous to the conclusion of it, all the stipulations are in the Emperor's name, and Philip is only designed King of England and Naples. It is certain Philip was not proclaimed King of Castile, &c. at Valladolid sooner than the 24th of March, Hist. de France, tom. ii. p. 606; and previous to that ceremony, he did not choose, it would seem, to assume the title of King of any of his Spanish kingdoms, or to perform any act of royal jurisdiction. In a deed annexed to the treaty of truce, dated April 9, he assumes the title of King of Castile, &c. in the usual style of the Spanish monarchs in that age. Corps Dipl. tom. iv. Append. p. 85.

BOOK XI. have the merit, when quitting the world, of re-
 1556. establishing that tranquillity in Europe, which
 he had banished out of it almost from the time
 that he assumed the administration of affairs.
 Previous to his resignation, commissioners had
 been appointed by him and by the French
 King, in order to treat of an exchange of pri-
 soners. In their conferences at the abbey of
 Vaucelles, near Cambray, an expedient was
 accidentally proposed for terminating hostilities
 between the contending monarchs, by a long
 truce, during the subsistence of which, and
 without discussing their respective claims, each
 should retain what was in his possession. Charles,
 sensible how much his kingdoms were ex-
 hausted by the expensive and almost conti-
 nual wars in which his ambition had engaged
 him, and eager to gain for his son a short in-
 terval of peace, that he might establish him-
 self firmly on his throne, declared warmly for
 closing with the overture, though manifestly
 dishonourable as well as disadvantageous; and
 such was the respect due to his wisdom and
 experience, that Philip, notwithstanding his un-
 willingness to purchase peace by such conces-
 sions, did not presume to urge his opinion in
 opposition to that of his father.

A truce
 concluded.

HENRY could not have hesitated one moment
 about giving his consent to a truce on such

conditions, as would leave him in quiet possession of the greater part of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, together with the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier. But it was no easy matter to reconcile such a step with the engagements which he had come under to the Pope, in his late treaty with him. The Constable Montmorency, however, represented in such a striking light, the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to these rash obligations, and took such advantage of the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had seduced the King into his alliance with the Caraffas, that Henry, naturally fluctuating and unsteady, and apt to be influenced by the advice last given him, authorized his ambassadors to sign a treaty of truce with the Emperor for five years, on the terms which had been proposed. But that he might not seem to have altogether forgotten his ally the Pope, who he foresaw would be highly exasperated, he, in order to sooth him, took care that he should be expressly included in the truce⁴⁵.

BOOK XI.
1556.

5th Feb.

THE Count of Lalain repaired to Blois, and the Admiral Coligny to Brussels, the former to be present when the King of France, and the

Ratified by
both monarchs.

⁴⁵ Mém. de Ribier, ii. 626. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. App. 81.

BOOK. XI. latter when the Emperor and his son, ratified
 1556. the treaty and bound themselves by oath to
 The Pope's observe it⁴⁶. When an account of the con-
 astonish- ferences at Vaucelles, and of the conditions of
 ment and truce which had been proposed there, were first
 distress. carried to Rome, it gave the Pope no manner
 of disquiet. He trusted so much to the honour
 of the French monarch, that he would not
 allow himself to think that Henry could forget
 so soon, or violate so shamefully, all the stipu-
 lations in his league with him. He had such
 an high opinion of the Emperor's wisdom, that
 he made no doubt of his refusing his consent to
 a truce on such unequal terms; and on both
 these accounts he confidently pronounced that
 this, like many preceding negociations, would
 terminate in nothing. But later and more cer-
 tain intelligence soon convinced him that in
 political affairs no reasoning is more fallacious,
 than, because an event is improbable, to con-
 clude that it will not happen. The sudden

⁴⁶ One of Admiral de Coligny's attendants, who wrote to the court of France an account of what happened while they resided at Brussels, takes notice, as an instance of Philip's impoliteness, that he received the French ambassador in an apartment hung with tapestry, which represented the battle of Pavia, the manner in which Francis I. was taken prisoner, his voyage to Spain, with all the mortifying circumstances of his captivity and imprisonment at Madrid. *Mém. de Ribier*, ii. 634.

and

and unexpected conclusion of the truce filled Book XI.
 Paul with astonishment and terror. The Car- 1556.
 dinal of Lorrain durst not encounter that storm
 of indignation, to which he knew that he should
 be exposed from the haughty Pontiff, who had
 so good reason to be incensed; but departing
 abruptly from Rome, he left to the Cardinal
 Tournon the difficult task of attempting to
 soothe Paul and his nephews. They were fully
 sensible of the perilous situation in which they
 now stood. By their engagements with France,
 which were no longer secret, they had highly
 irritated Philip. They dreaded the violence of
 his implacable temper. The Duke of Alva a
 minister fitted, as well by his abilities as by the
 severity of his nature, for executing all Philip's
 rigorous schemes, had advanced from Milan to
 Naples, and began to assemble troops on the
 frontiers of the Ecclesiastical State. While
 they, if deserted by France, must not only re-
 linquish all the hopes of dominion and sove-
 reignty to which their ambition aspired, but
 remain exposed to the resentment of the Spanish
 monarch, without one ally to protect them
 against an enemy with whom they were so little
 able to contend.

UNDER these circumstances, Paul had recourse He attempts
 to the arts of negociation and intrigue, of which to rekindle
 the war.

BOOK XI. the papal court knows how well to avail itself
1556. in order to ward off any calamity threatened by an enemy superior in power. He affected to approve highly of the truce, as an happy expedient for putting a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. He expressed his warmest wishes that it might prove the forerunner of a definitive peace. He exhorted the rival Princes to embrace this favourable opportunity of setting on foot a negociation for that purpose, and offered, as their common father, to be mediator between them. Under this pretext, he appointed Cardinal Rebiba his nuncio to the court of Brussels, and his nephew Cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. The publick instructions given to both were the same; that they should use their utmost endeavours to prevail with the two monarchs to accept of the Pope's mediation, that, by means of it, peace might be re-established, and measures might be taken for assembling a general council. But under this specious appearance of zeal for attaining objects so desirable in themselves, and so becoming his sacred character to pursue, Paul concealed very different intentions. Caraffa, besides his publick instructions, received a private commission to solicit the French King to renounce the treaty of truce, and to renew his engagements with the Holy See, and he was empowered to spare

neither entreaties, nor promises, nor bribes, in order to gain that point. This, both the uncle and the nephew considered as the real end of the embassy; while the other served to amuse the vulgar, or to deceive the Emperor and his son. The Cardinal, accordingly, set out instantly for Paris, and travelled with the greatest expedition, while Rebiba was detained some weeks at Rome; and when it became necessary for him to begin his journey, he received secret orders to protract it as much as possible, that the issue of Caraffa's negociation might be known before he should reach Brussels, and according to that, proper directions might be given to him with regard to the tone which he should assume, in treating with the Emperor and his son⁴⁷.

BOOK XI.

1556.

11th May.

CARAFFA made his entry into Paris with extraordinary pomp; and having presented a consecrated sword to Henry, as the Protector, on whose aid the Pope relied in the present exigency, he besought him not to disregard the entreaties of a parent in distress, but to employ that weapon which he gave him in his defence. This he represented not only as a duty of filial piety, but as an act of justice. As the Pope,

His negotiations for that purpose.

⁴⁷ Pallav. lib. xiii. p. 169. Burnet's Hist. of Reform. ii. App. 309.

BOOK XI. 1556. from confidence in the assistance and support which his late treaty with France entitled him to expect, had taken such steps as had irritated the King of Spain, he conjured Henry not to suffer Paul and his family to be crushed under the weight of that resentment which they had drawn on themselves merely by their attachment to France. Together with this argument addressed to his generosity, he employed another which he hoped would work on his ambition. He affirmed that now was the time, when, with the most certain prospect of success, he might attack Philip's dominions in Italy; that the flower of the veteran Spanish bands had perished in the wars of Hungary, Germany, and the Low Countries; that the Emperor had left his son an exhausted treasury, and kingdoms drained of men; that he had no longer to contend with the abilities, the experience, and good fortune of Charles, but with a monarch scarcely seated on his throne, unpractised in command, odious to many of the Italian states, and dreaded by all. He promised that the Pope, who had already levied soldiers, would bring a considerable army into the field, which, when joined by a sufficient number of French troops, might, by one brisk and sudden effort, drive the Spaniards out of Naples, and add to the crown of France a kingdom, the conquest of which had

been the great object of all his predecessors during half a century, and the chief motive of all their expeditions into Italy, BOOK XI.
1556.

EVERY word Caraffa spoke made a deep impression on Henry; conscious, on the one hand, that the Pope had just cause to reproach him with having violated the laws not only of generosity but of decency, when he renounced his league with him, and had agreed to the truce of Vaucelles; and eager, on the other hand, not only to distinguish his reign by a conquest, which three former monarchs had attempted without success, but likewise to acquire an establishment of such dignity and value for one of his sons. Reverence, however, for the oath, by which he had so lately confirmed the truce of Vaucelles; the extreme old age of the Pope, whose death might occasion an entire revolution in the political system of Italy; together with the representations of Montmorency, who repeated all the arguments he had used against the first league with Paul, and pointed out the great and immediate advantages which France derived from the truce; kept Henry for some time in suspense, and might possibly have outweighed all Caraffa's arguments. But the Cardinal was not such a novice in the arts of intrigue and negociation, as not to have ex-

Their effect.
July 31.

BOOK XI. 1556. pedients ready for removing or surmounting all these obstacles. To obviate the King's scruple with regard to his oath, he produced powers from the Pope to absolve him from the obligation of it. By way of security against any danger which he might apprehend from the Pope's death, he engaged that his uncle would make such a nomination of Cardinals, as should give Henry the absolute command of the next election, and enable him to place in the papal chair a person entirely devoted to his interest.

IN order to counterbalance the effect of the Constable's opinion and influence, he employed not only the active talents of the Duke of Guise, and the eloquence of his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, but the address of the Queen, aided by the more powerful arts of Diana of Poitiers, who, unfortunately for France, co-operated with Catharine in this point, though she took pleasure, on almost every other occasion, to thwart and mortify her. They, by their united solicitations, easily swayed the King, who leaned of his own accord to that side towards which they wished him to incline. All Montmorency's prudent remonstrances were disregarded; the nuncio absolved Henry from his oath; and he signed a new league with the Pope, which re-

kindled the flames of war both in Italy and in the Low Countries. Book XI.
1556.

As soon as Paul was informed by his nephew that there was a fair prospect of his succeeding in this negociation, he dispatched a messenger after the nuncio Rebiba, with orders to return to Rome, without proceeding to Brussels. As it was now no longer necessary to preserve that tone of moderation, which suited the character of a mediator, and which he had affected to assume, or to put any farther restraint upon his resentment against Philip, he boldly threw off the mask, and took such violent steps as rendered a rupture unavoidable. He seized and imprisoned the Spanish envoy at his court. He excommunicated the Colonnas, and having deprived Mark Antonio, the head of that family, of the dukedom of Paliano, he granted that dignity, together with the territory annexed to it, to his nephew the Count Montorio. He ordered a legal information to be presented in the consistory of Cardinals against Philip, setting forth that he, notwithstanding the fidelity and allegiance due by him to the Holy See, of which he held the crown of Naples, had not only afforded a retreat in his dominions to the Colonnas, whom the Pope had excommunicated and declared rebels, but had furnished them with arms, and was ready, in conjunction with

July 31.
The Pope's
violent pro-
ceedings
against
Philip.

Book XI. them, to invade the Ecclesiastical State in an
 1556. hostile manner; that such conduct in a vassal
 was to be deemed treason against his liege lord,
 the punishment of which was the forfeiture of
 his fief. Upon this the consistorial advocate
 requested the Pope to take cognizance of the
 cause, and to appoint a day for hearing of it,
 when he would make good every article of the
 charge, and expect from his justice that sentence
 which the heinousness of Philip's crimes merited.
 Paul, whose pride was highly flattered with the
 idea of trying and passing judgment on so great
 July 27. a King, assented to his request; and as if it had
 been no less easy to execute than to pronounce
 sentence, declared that he would consult with
 the Cardinals concerning the formalities requi-
 site in conducting the trial⁴⁸.

Philip's su-
 perstitious
 scruples.

BUT while Paul allowed his pride and resent-
 ment to drive him on with such headlong im-
 petuosity, Philip discovered an amazing mode-
 ration on his part. He had been taught by the
 Spanish ecclesiasticks, who had the charge of his
 education, a profound veneration for the Holy
 See. This sentiment, which had been early
 infused, grew up with him as he advanced in
 years, and took full possession of his mind,
 which was naturally thoughtful, serious, and
 prone to superstition. When he foresaw a rup-

⁴⁸ Pallav. lib. xiii. 171.

ture with the Pope approaching, he had such violent scruples with respect to the lawfulness of taking arms against the Vicegerent of Christ, and the common father of all Christians, that he consulted some Spanish divines upon that point. They, with the usual dexterity of casuists in accommodating their responses to the circumstances of those who apply to them for direction, assured him that, after employing prayers and remonstrances in order to bring the Pope to reason, he had full right, both by the laws of nature and of Christianity, not only to defend himself when attacked, but to begin hostilities, if that were judged the most proper expedient for preventing the effects of Paul's violence and injustice. Philip nevertheless continued to deliberate and delay, considering it as a most cruel misfortune, that his administration should open with an attack on a person, whose sacred function and character he so highly respected⁴⁹.

AT last the Duke of Alva, who, in compliance with his master's scruples, had continued to negotiate long after he should have begun to act, finding Paul inexorable, and that every overture of peace, and every appearance of hesitation on his part increased the Pontiff's natural arrogance, took the field and entered

The Duke
of Alva
takes the
field against
the Pope.

Sept. 5.

⁴⁹ Ferrer, Hist. d'Espagne, ix. 373. Herrera, i. 308.

BOOK XI. the ecclesiastical territories. His army did not
 1556. exceed twelve thousand men, but it was composed of veteran soldiers, and commanded chiefly by those Roman barons, whom Paul's violence had driven into exile. The valour of the troops, together with the animosity of their leaders, who fought in their own quarrel, and to recover their own estates, supplied the want of numbers. As none of the French forces were yet arrived, Alva soon became master of the Campagna Romana; some cities being surrendered through the cowardice of the garrisons, which consisted of raw soldiers, ill-disciplined, and worse commanded; the gates of others being opened by the inhabitants, who were eager to receive back their ancient masters. Alva, that he might not be taxed with impiety in seizing the patrimony of the church, took possession of the towns which capitulated, in the name of the college of cardinals, to which, or to the Pope that should be chosen to succeed Paul, he declared that he would immediately restore them.

A truce between the Pope and Philip.

THE rapid progress of the Spaniards, whose light troops made inroads to the gates of Rome, filled that city with consternation. Paul, though inflexible and undaunted himself, was obliged to give way so far to the fears and solicitations of the Cardinals, as to send deputies to Alva in

order to propose a cessation of arms. The Pope BOOK XL.
yielded the more readily, as he was sensible of 1556.
a double advantage which might be derived
from obtaining that point. It would deliver
the inhabitants of Rome from their present
terror, and would afford time for the arrival of
the succours which he expected from France.
Nor was Alva unwilling to close with the over-
ture, both as he knew how desirous his master
was to terminate a war, which he had under-
taken with reluctance, and as his army was so
much weakened by garrisoning the great number
of towns which he had reduced, that it was
hardly in a condition to keep the field without
fresh recruits. A truce was accordingly con-
cluded first for ten, and afterwards for forty Nov. 19.
days, during which, various schemes of peace
were proposed, and perpetual negotiations were
carried on, but with no sincerity on the part of
the Pope. The return of his nephew the Car-
dinal to Rome, the receipt of a considerable
sum remitted by the King of France, the arrival
of one body of French troops, together with
the expectation of others which had begun their
march, rendered him more arrogant than ever,
and banished all thoughts from his mind, but
those of war and revenge^o.

^o Pallav. lib. xiii. 177. Thuan. lib. xvii. 588. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 664.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E I G N
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.
BOOK XII.

WHILE these operations or intrigues kept Book XII.
the Pope and Philip busy and attentive, the 1556.
Emperor disentangled himself finally from all the Charles's
affairs of this world, and set out for the place new attempt
of his retreat. He had hitherto retained the Imperial dignity, not from any unwillingness to re-
linquish it, for, after having resigned the real and extensive authority that he enjoyed in his hereditary dominions, to part with the limited and often ideal jurisdiction which belongs to an elective crown, was no great sacrifice. His sole motive for delay was to gain a few months, for
the Empire.

BOOK XII. making one trial more, in order to accomplish
 1556. his favourite scheme in behalf of his son. At the very time Charles seemed to be most sensible of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and when he appeared to be quitting it not only with indifference, but with contempt, the vast schemes of ambition, which had so long occupied and engrossed his mind, still kept possession of it. He could not think of leaving his son in a rank inferior to that which he himself had held among the Princes of Europe. As he had, some years before, made a fruitless attempt to secure the Imperial crown to Philip, that by uniting it to the kingdoms of Spain, and the dominions of the house of Burgundy, he might put it in his power to prosecute, with a better prospect of success, those great plans, which his own infirmities had obliged him to abandon, he was still unwilling to relinquish his flattering project as chimerical or unattainable.

Which
 proves un-
 successful.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repulse which he had formerly met with from his brother Ferdinand, he renewed his solicitations with fresh importunity; and during the summer, had tried every art, and employed every argument, which he thought could induce him to quit the Imperial throne to Philip, and to accept of the investiture of some province, either in Italy, or

in the Low Countries, as an equivalent¹. But Ferdinand, who was so firm and inflexible with regard to this point, that he had paid no regard to the solicitations of the Emperor, even when they were enforced with all the weight of authority which accompanies supreme power, received the overture, that now came from him in the situation to which he had descended, with greater indifference, and would hardly deign to listen to it. Charles, ashamed of his own credulity in having imagined that he might accomplish that now, which he had attempted formerly without success, desisted finally from his scheme. He then resigned the government of the Empire, and having transferred all his claims of obedience and allegiance from the Germanick body, to his brother the King of the Romans, he executed a deed to that effect, with all the formalities requisite in such an important transaction. The instrument of resignation he committed to William, Prince of Orange, and empowered him to lay it before the college of electors². Book XII.
1556.
August 27.

NOTHING now remained to detain Charles from that retreat for which he languished. The preparations for his voyage having been made for some time, he set out for Zuitburgh in Charles sets out for Spain.

¹ Ambassades de Noailles, tom. v. 356. ² Goldast.
Constit. Imper. pars i. 576.

BOOK XII. Zealand, where the fleet had orders to rendezvous. In his way thither he passed through Ghent, and after stopping there a few days, to indulge that tender and pleasant melancholy, which arises in the mind of every man in the decline of life, on visiting the place of his nativity, and viewing the scenes and objects familiar to him in his early youth, he pursued his journey, accompanied by his son Philip, his daughter the archdutchess, his sisters the dowager Queens of France and Hungary, Maximilian his son-in-law, and a numerous retinue of the Flemish nobility. Before he went on board, he dismissed them, with marks of his attention or regard, and taking leave of Philip with all the tenderness of a father who embraced his son for the last time, he set sail on the seventeenth of September under convoy of a large fleet of Spanish, Flemish, and English ships. He declined a pressing invitation, from the Queen of England, to land in some part of her dominions, in order to refresh himself, and that she might have the comfort of seeing him once more. It cannot surely, said he, be agreeable to a Queen to receive a visit from a father-in-law, who is now nothing more than a private gentleman.

His arrival
and recep-
tion there.

His voyage was prosperous, and he arrived at Laredo in Biscay on the eleventh day after he left Zealand. As soon as he landed,

landed; he fell prostrate on the ground; and considering himself now as dead to the world, he kissed the earth, and said, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked I now return to thee, thou common mother of mankind". From Laredo he pursued his journey to Burgos, carried by his attendants sometimes in a chair, and sometimes in a horse litter, suffering exquisite pain at every step, and advancing with the greatest difficulty. Some of the Spanish nobility repaired to Burgos, in order to pay court to him, but they were so few in number, and their attendance was so negligent, that Charles observed it, and felt, for the first time, that he was no longer a Monarch. Accustomed from his early youth to the dutiful and officious respect with which those who possess sovereign power are attended, he had received it with the credulity common to Princes, and was weak enough to be mortified, when he now discovered, that he had been indebted to his fortune, for much of that obsequious regard which he had fondly thought was paid to his personal qualities. But though he might have soon learned to forget the levity of his subjects, or to have despised their neglect, he was more deeply afflicted with his son's ingratitude, who, forgetting already how much he owed to his father's bounty, obliged him to remain some weeks at Burgos, before he

BOOK XII. paid him the first moiety of that small pension,
 1556. which was all that he had reserved of so many kingdoms. As without this sum, Charles could not dismiss his domesticks with such rewards as their services merited, or his generosity had destined for them, he could not help expressing both surprise and dissatisfaction³. At last the money was paid, and Charles having dismissed a great number of his domesticks, whose attendance he thought would be superfluous or cumbersome in his retirement, he proceeded to Valladolid. There he took a last and tender leave of his two sisters, whom he would not permit to accompany him to his solitude, though they entreated it with tears, not only that they might have the consolation of contributing by their attendance and care to mitigate or to soothe his sufferings, but that they might reap instruction and benefit by joining with him in those pious exercises, to which he had consecrated the remainder of his days.

The place of
 his retreat.

FROM Valladolid he continued his journey to Plazencia in Estremadura. He had passed through this place a great many years before, and having been struck at that time with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, not many

³ Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. 9.

miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his attendants, that this was a spot to which Diocletian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind, that he pitched upon it as the place of his retreat. It was seated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds, covered with lofty trees; from the nature of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful and delicious situation in Spain. Some months before his resignation he had sent an architect thither, to add a new apartment to the monastery, for his accommodation; but he gave strict orders that the stile of the building should be such as suited his present station, rather than his former dignity. It consisted only of six rooms, four of them in the form of Friars' cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground; with a door on one side into a garden, of which Charles himself had given the plan, and had filled it with various plants, which he intended to cultivate with his own hands. On the other side they communicated with the chapel of the monastery, in which he was to perform his devotions. Into this humble retreat, hardly sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of a private

BOOK XII. gentleman, did Charles enter, with twelve
 1557. domesticks only. He buried there, in solitude
 February 24. and silence, his grandeur, his ambition, together with all those vast projects, which, during half a century, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom in it, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subjected to his power *.

Contrast between the behaviour of Charles and the Pope.

THE contrast between Charles's conduct and that of the Pope at this juncture, was so obvious, that it struck even the most careless observers; nor was the comparison which they made much to Paul's advantage. The former, a conqueror, born to reign, long accustomed to the splendour which accompanies supreme power, and to those busy and interesting scenes in which an active ambition had engaged him, quitted the world, at an early period of life, that he might close the evening of his days in tranquillity, and secure some interval for sober thought, and serious recollection. The latter, a priest, who had passed the early part of his life in the shade of the schools, and in the study of the speculative sciences, who was seemingly so detached from the world, that he had shut himself up for many years in the solitude of a cloyster,

* Sandov. ii. 607. & Zuaiga, 100. Thuan. lib. xvii. 609.

and who was not raised to the papal throne until BOOK XII.
 he had reached the extremity of old age, disco- 1557.
 vered at once all the impetuosity of youthful
 ambition, and engaged in vast schemes, in order
 to accomplish which, he scrupled not to scatter
 the seeds of discord, and to kindle the flames of
 war, in every corner of Europe. But Paul, re-
 gardless of the opinion or censures of mankind,
 held on his own course with his wonted arro-
 gance and violence. These, although they seemed
 already to have exceeded all bounds, rose to still
 a greater height, upon the arrival of the duke
 of Guise in Italy.

THAT which the two Princes of Lorraine fore-
 saw and desired, had happened. The duke of
 Guise was entrusted with the command of the
 army appointed to march to the Pope's assist-
 ance. It consisted of twenty thousand men, of
 the best troops in the service of France. So
 high was the Duke's reputation, and such the
 general expectation of beholding some extraor-
 dinary exertion of his courage and abilities in a
 war into which he had precipitated his country,
 chiefly with the design of obtaining a field where
 he might display his own talents, that many of
 the French nobility, who had no command in
 the troops employed, accompanied him as volun-
 teers. This army passed the Alps in a rigorous
 season, and advanced towards Rome, without

The duke of
 Guise leads
 the French
 army into
 Italy.

Book XII. any opposition from the Spaniards, who, as they
 1557. were not strong enough to act in different parts, had collected all their forces in one body on the frontiers of Naples, for the defence of that kingdom.

The Pope
 renews ho-
 stilities
 against
 Philip.

EMBOLDENED by the approach of the French, the Pope let loose all the fury of his resentment against Philip, which, notwithstanding the natural violence of his temper, prudential considerations had hitherto obliged him to keep under some restraint. He named commissioners, whom he empowered to pass judgment in the suit, which the consistorial advocate had commenced against Philip, in order to prove that he had forfeited the crown of Naples, by taking arms against the Holy See, of which he was a vassal. He recalled all the nuncios resident in the courts of Charles V. of Philip, or of any of their allies. This was levelled chiefly against Cardinal Pole, the papal legate in the court of England, whose great merit, in having contributed so successfully to reconcile that kingdom to the church of Rome, together with the expectation of farther services he might perform, was not sufficient to screen him from the resentment which he had incurred by his zealous endeavours to re-establish peace between the house of Austria and France. He commanded an addition to be made to the anathemas

annually denounced against the enemies of the church on Maundy-Thurday, whereby he inflicted the censure of excommunication on the authors of the late invasion of the ecclesiastical territories, whatever their rank or dignity might be; and, in consequence of this, the usual prayers for the Emperor were omitted next day in the Pope's chapel.

BOOK XII.

1557.

BUT while the Pope indulged himself in those wild and childish sallies of rage, either he neglected, or found that it exceeded his power, to take such measures as would have rendered his resentment really formidable, and fatal to his enemies. For when the duke of Guise entered Rome, where he was received with a triumphal pomp, which would have been more suitable if he had been returning from having terminated the war with glory, than when he was going to begin it with a doubtful chance of success, he found none of the preparations for war in such forwardness as Caraffa had promised, or he had expected. The papal troops were far inferior in number to the quota stipulated; no magazines sufficient for their subsistence were formed; nor was money for paying them provided. The Venetians, agreeably to that cautious maxim which the misfortunes of their state had first led them to

His military
preparations
inadequate.

⁵ Pal. lib. xiii. 180. Mém. de Ribier, ii. 678.

BOOK XII. adopt, and which was now become a fundamental principle in their policy, declared their resolution to preserve an exact neutrality, without taking any part in the quarrels of Princes, so far superior to themselves in power. The other Italian states were either openly united in league with Philip, or secretly wished success to his arms against a Pontiff, whose inconsiderate ambition had rendered Italy once more the seat of war.

Duke of
Guise's operations.

THE duke of Guise perceived that the whole weight of the war would devolve on him; and became sensible, though too late, how imprudent it is to rely, in the execution of great enterprizes, on the aid of feeble allies. Pushed on, however, by the Pope's impatience for action, as well as by his own desire of performing something of what he had so confidently undertaken, he marched towards Naples, and began his operations. But the success of these fell far short of his former reputation, of what the world expected, and of what he himself had promised. He opened the campaign with the siege of Civitella, a town of some importance on the Neapolitan frontier. But the obstinacy with which the Spanish governor defended it, baffled all the impetuous efforts of the French valour, and obliged Guise, after a siege of three weeks, to retire from the town with disgrace. He en-

April 13.

deavoured to wipe off that stain, by advancing Book XII.
 boldly towards the duke of Alva's camp, and 1557.
 offering him battle. But that prudent commander, sensible of all the advantages of standing on the defensive before an invading enemy, declined an engagement, and kept within his intrenchments; and adhering to his plan with the steadiness of a Castilian, eluded, with great address, all Guise's stratagems to draw him into action*. By this time sickness began to waste the French army; violent dissensions had arisen between Guise and the commander of the Pope's forces; the Spaniards renewed their incursions into the ecclesiastical state; the Pope, when he found, instead of the conquests and triumphs which he had fondly expected, that he could not secure his own territories from depredation, murmured, complained, and began to talk of peace. The duke of Guise, mortified to the last degree with having acted such an inglorious part, not only solicited his court either to reinforce his army, or to recal him, but urged Paul to fulfil his engagements; and called on Cardinal Caraffa, sometimes with reproaches, sometimes with threats, to make good those magnificent promises, from a rash confidence in which he had advised his master to renounce the truce of Vaucelles, and to join in league with the Pope⁷.

* Herrera vida de Felipe, 181.

⁷ Thuan. lib.

xxviii. 614. Palav. lib. xiii. 181. Burn. ii. app. 317.

BOOK XII.

1557.
Hostilities
in the Low
Countries.

BUT while the French affairs in Italy were in this wretched situation, an unexpected event happened in the Low Countries, which called the duke of Guise from a station wherein he could acquire no honour, to the most dignified and important charge which could be committed to a subject. As soon as the French had discovered their purpose of violating the truce of Vaucelles, not only by sending an army into Italy, but by attempting to surprize some of the frontier towns in Flanders, Philip, though willing to have avoided a rupture, determined to prosecute the war with such spirit, as should make his enemies sensible, that his father had not erred, when he judged him to be so capable of government, that he had given up the reins into his hands. As he knew that Henry had been at great expence in fitting out the army under the duke of Guise, and that his treasury was hardly able to answer the exorbitant and endless demands of a distant war, he foresaw that all his operations in the Low Countries must, of consequence, prove feeble, and be considered only as secondary to those in Italy. For that reason, he prudently resolved to make his principal effort in that place where he expected the French to be weakest, and to bend his chief force against that quarter where they would feel a blow most sensibly. With this view, he assem-

bled in the Low Countries an army of about fifty-thousand men, the Flemings serving him on this occasion with that active zeal, which subjects are wont to exert in obeying the commands of a new sovereign. But Philip, cautious and provident, even at this early period of life, did not rest all his hopes of success on that formidable force alone.

Book XII.
1557.

He had been labouring for some time to engage the English to espouse his quarrel; and though it was manifestly the interest of that kingdom to maintain a strict neutrality, and the people themselves were sensible of the advantages which they derived from it; though he knew how odious his name was to the English, and how averse they would be to co-operate with him in any measure, he nevertheless did not despair of accomplishing his point. He relied on the affection wherewith the Queen doated on him, which was so violent, that even his coldness and neglect had not extinguished it; he knew her implicit reverence for his opinion, and her fond desire of gratifying him in every particular. That he might work on these with greater facility, and more certain success, he set out for England. The Queen who, during her husband's absence, had languished in perpetual dejection, resumed fresh spirits on

Philip endeavours to engage England in the war.

BOOK XII. his arrival; and without paying the least atten-
1557 tion either to the interest or to the inclinations
of her people, entered warmly into all his
schemes. In vain did her privy-council remon-
strate against the imprudence as well as danger
of involving the nation in an unnecessary war;
in vain did they put her in mind of the solemn
treaties of peace subsisting between England
and France, which the conduct of that nation
had afforded her no pretext to violate. Mary,
foothed by Philip's caresses, or intimidated by
the threats which his ascendant over her em-
boldened him at some times to throw out, was
deaf to every thing that could be urged in op-
position to his sentiments, and insisted with the
greatest vehemence on an immediate declaration
of war against France. The council, though
all Philip's address and Mary's authority were
employed to gain or overawe them, after strug-
gling long, yielded at last, not from convic-
tion, but merely from deference to the will of
June 20. their sovereign. War was declared against
France, the only one perhaps against that king-
dom into which the English ever entered with
reluctance. As Mary knew the aversion of the
nation to this measure, she durst not call a par-
liament in order to raise money for carrying on
the war. She supplied this want, however, by
a strain of prerogative; and levied large sums on

her subjects by her own authority. This enabled Book XII.
her to assemble a sufficient body of troops, and 1557.
to send eight thousand men under the conduct of
the earl of Pembroke to join Philip's army *.

PHILIP, who was not ambitious of military Operations
glory, gave the command of his army to Ema- of Philip's
nuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and fixed his army in the
own residence at Cambray, that he might be Low Coun-
at hand to receive the earliest intelligence of tries.
his motions, and to aid him with his counsels.
The Duke opened the campaign with a masterly
stroke of address, which justified Philip's choice,
and discovered such a superiority of genius over
the French generals, as almost ensured success
in his subsequent operations. He appointed
the general rendezvous of his troops at a place
considerably distant from the country which he
destined to be the scene of action; and having
kept the enemy in suspense for a good time
with regard to his intentions, he at last deceived
them so effectually by the variety of his marches
and counter-marches, as led them to conclude
that he meant to bend all his force against the
province of Champagne, and would attempt to
penetrate into the kingdom on that side. In
consequence of this opinion, they drew all their
strength towards that quarter, and reinforcing

* Carte, iii. 337.

BOOK XII. the garrisons there, left the towns on other parts
1557. of the frontier destitute of troops sufficient to
defend them.

Invests St.
Quintin.

EMANUEL, as soon as he perceived that this
feint had its full effect, turned suddenly to the
right, advanced by rapid marches into Picardy,
and sending his cavalry, in which he was ex-
tremely strong, before him, invested St. Quintin.
This was a town deemed in that age of confi-
derable strength, and of great importance, as
there were few fortified cities between it and
Paris. The fortifications, however, had been
much neglected; the garrison, weakened by
draughts sent towards Champagne, did not
amount to a fifth part of the number requisite
for its defence; and the governor, though a
brave officer, was neither of rank, nor authority,
equal to the command in a place of so much
consequence, besieged by such a formidable
army. A few days must have put the duke of
Savoy in possession of the town, if the admiral
de Coligny, who thought it concerned his
honour to attempt saving a place of such im-
portance to his country, and which lay within
his jurisdiction as governor of Picardy, had not
taken the gallant resolution of throwing himself
into it, with such a body of men as he could
collect of a sudden. This resolution he exe-

cuted with great intrepidity, and, if the nature of the enterprize be considered, with no contemptible success; for though one half of his small body of troops was cut off, he, with the other, broke through the enemy, and entered the town. The unexpected arrival of an officer of such high rank and reputation, and who had exposed himself to such danger in order to join them, inspired the desponding garrison with courage. Every thing that the admiral's great skill and experience in the art of war could suggest, for annoying the enemy, or defending the town, was attempted; and the citizens as well as the garrison, seconding his zeal with equal ardour, seemed to be determined that they would hold out to the last, and sacrifice themselves in order to save their country*.

THE duke of Savoy, whom the English, under the earl of Pembroke, joined about this time, pushed on the siege with the greatest vigour. An army so numerous, and so well supplied with every thing requisite, carried on its approaches with great advantage against a garrison which was still so feeble that it durst seldom venture to disturb or retard the enemy's operations by sallies. The admiral, sensible of the approaching danger, and unable to avert it,

The French endeavour to relieve the town.

* Thuan. lib. xix. 647.

BOOK XII. acquainted his uncle the constable Montmo-
1557. rency, who had the command of the French
army, with his situation, and pointed out to
him a method by which he might throw relief
into the town. The constable, solicitous to save
a town, the loss of which would open a passage
for the enemy into the heart of France; and
eager to extricate his nephew out of that peril-
ous situation, in which zeal for the publick had
engaged him; resolved, though aware of the
danger, to attempt what he desired. With this
view, he marched from La Fere towards St.
Quentin at the head of his army, which was
not by one half so numerous as that of the
enemy, and having given the command of a
body of chosen men to Coligny's brother Dan-
delot, who was colonel general of the French
infantry, he ordered him to force his way into
the town by that avenue which the admiral had
represented as most practicable, while he him-
self with the main army would give the alarm
to the enemy's camp on the opposite side, and
endeavour to draw all their attention towards
August 10. that quarter. Dandelot executed his orders with
greater intrepidity than conduct. His soldiers
rushed on with such headlong impetuosity, that
though it broke the first body of the enemy
which stood in their way, it threw themselves
into the utmost confusion; and being attacked
by

by fresh troops which closed in upon them on every side, the greater part of them were cut in pieces, Dandelot, with about five hundred of the most adventurous, and most fortunate, making good his entrance into the town. 1557. Book XII.

MEANWHILE the Constable, in executing his part of the plan, advanced so near the camp of the besiegers, as rendered it impossible to retreat with safety in the face of an enemy so much superior in number. The duke of Savoy instantly perceived Montmorency's error, and prepared, with the presence of mind and abilities of a great general, to avail himself of it. He drew up his army in order of battle, with the greatest expedition, and watching the moment when the French began to file off towards La Fere, he detached all his cavalry, under the command of the count of Egmont, to fall on their rear, while he himself, at the head of his infantry, advanced to support him. The French retired at first in perfect order, and with a good countenance; but when they saw Egmont draw near with his formidable body of cavalry, the shock of which they were conscious that they could not withstand, the prospect of imminent danger added to distrust of their general, whose imprudence every soldier now perceived, struck them with general consternation. They began

BOOK XII. 1557. infensibly to quicken their pace, and those in the rear pressed so violently on such as were before them, that in a short time their march resembled a flight rather than a retreat. Egmont, observing their confusion, charged them with the greatest fury, and in a moment all their men at arms, the pride and strength of the French troops in that age, gave way and fled with precipitation. The infantry, however, whom the Constable, by his presence and authority, kept to their colours, still continued their retreat in good order, until the enemy brought some pieces of cannon to bear upon their center, which threw them into such confusion, that the cavalry, renewing their attack, broke in, and the rout became universal. About four thousand of the French fell in the field, and among these the Duke of Enguyen, a Prince of the blood, together with six hundred gentlemen. The Constable, as soon as he perceived the fortune of the day to be irretrievable, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, with a resolution not to survive the calamity, which his ill conduct had brought upon his country; but having received a dangerous wound, and being wasted with the loss of blood, he was surrounded by some Flemish officers, to whom he was known, who protected him from the violence of the soldiers, and obliged him to surrender. Besides

Total de-
feat of the
French.

the Constable, the Dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the Marechal St. Andrè, many officers of distinction, three hundred gentlemen, and near four thousand private soldiers were taken prisoners. All the colours belonging to the infantry, all the ammunition, and all the cannon, two pieces excepted, fell into the enemy's hands. The victorious army did not lose above fourscore men^{1°}. Book XII. 1557.

THIS battle, no less fatal to France than the ancient victories of Crecy and Agincourt, gained by the English on the same frontier, bore a near resemblance to those disastrous events, in the suddenness of the rout; in the rashness of the commander in chief; in the number of persons of note slain or taken; and in the small loss sustained by the enemy. It filled France with equal consternation. Many inhabitants of Paris, with the same precipitancy and trepidation as if the enemy had been already at their gates, quitted the city, and retired into the interior provinces. The King, by his presence and exhortations, endeavoured to console and to animate such as remained, and applying himself with the greatest diligence to repair the ruinous fortifications of the city, prepared to

^{1°} Thuan. 650. Haræi Annal. Brabant. ii. 692. Herrera, 291.

BOOK XII. defend it against the attack which he instantly
 1557. expected. But happily for France, Philip's caution, together with the intrepid firmness of the admiral de Coligny, not only saved the capital from the danger to which it was exposed, but gained the nation a short interval, during which the people recovered from the terror and dejection occasioned by a blow no less severe than unexpected, and Henry had leisure to take measures for the publick security with the spirit which became the sovereign of a powerful and martial people.

Philip repairs to his army.

PHILIP, immediately after the battle, visited the camp at St. Quintin, where he was received with all the exultation of military triumph; and such were his transports of joy, on account of an event which threw so much lustre on the beginning of his reign, that they softened his severe and haughty temper, into an unusual flow of courtesy. When the duke of Savoy approached, and was kneeling to kiss his hands, he caught him in his arms, and embracing him with warmth, "It becomes me, says he, rather to kiss your hands, which have gained me such a glorious and almost bloodless victory."

His deliberations concerning the

As soon as the rejoicings and congratulations on Philip's arrival were over, a council of war

was held, in order to determine how they might improve their victory to the best advantage. The duke of Savoy, seconded by several of the ablest officers formed under Charles V, insisted that they should immediately relinquish the siege of St. Quintin, the reduction of which was now an object below their attention, and advance directly towards Paris; that as there were neither troops to oppose, nor any town of strength to retard their march, they might reach that capital while under the full impression of the astonishment and terror occasioned by the rout of the army, and take possession of it without resistance. But Philip, less adventurous or more prudent than his generals, preferred a moderate but certain advantage, to an enterprise of greater splendour, but of more doubtful success. He represented to the council the infinite resources of a kingdom so powerful as France; the great number as well as martial spirit of its nobles; their attachment to their sovereign; the vast advantages with which they could carry on war in their own territories; and the unavoidable destruction, which must be the consequence of their penetrating too rashly into the enemy's country, before they had secured such a communication with their own, as might render a retreat safe, if upon any disastrous event that measure should become necessary. On all

Book XII.
1557.
prosecution
of the war.

BOOK XII. these accounts, he advised the continuance
 1557. of the siege, and his generals acquiesced the more readily in his opinion, as they made no doubt of being masters of the town in a few days, a loss of time of so little consequence in the execution of their plan, that they might easily repair it by their subsequent activity¹¹.

St. Quintin
 defended by
 Admiral
 Coligny,

THE weakness of their fortifications, and the small number of the garrison, which could no longer hope either for reinforcement, or relief, seemed to authorize this calculation of Philip's generals. But, in making it, they did not attend sufficiently to the character of admiral de Coligny, who commanded in the town. A courage undismayed and undisconcerted amidst the greatest dangers, an invention fruitful in resources, a genius which roused and seemed to acquire new force upon every disaster, a talent of governing the minds of men, together with a capacity of maintaining his ascendant over them even under circumstances the most adverse and distressful, were qualities which Coligny possessed in a degree superior to any general of that age. These qualities were peculiarly adapted to the station in which he was now placed; and as he knew the infinite im-

¹¹ Belcar. Commentar. de Reb. Gallic. 901.

portance to his country of every hour which he BOOK XII.
 could gain at this juncture, he exerted himself 1557.
 to the utmost in contriving how to protract the
 siege, and to detain the enemy from attempting
 any enterprize more dangerous to France. Such which is
taken by
assault.
 were the perseverance and skill with which he
 conducted the defence, and such the fortitude
 as well as patience with which he animated the
 garrison, that though the Spaniards, the Fle-
 mings, and the English, carried on the attack
 with all the ardour which national emulation
 inspires, he held out the town seventeen days. August 27.
 He was taken prisoner, at last, on the breach,
 overpowered by the superior number of the
 enemy.

HENRY availed himself, with the utmost acti- Henry's
measures
for the de-
fence of his
kingdom.
 vity, of the interval which the Admiral's well-
 timed obstinacy had afforded him. He appoint-
 ed officers to collect the scattered remains of
 the Constable's army; he issued orders for levy-
 ing soldiers in every part of the kingdom; he
 commanded the ban and arriere ban of the
 frontier provinces instantly to take the field,
 and to join the duke of Nevers at Laon in Pi-
 cardy; he recalled the greater part of the vete-
 ran troops which served under the Marechal
 Brissac in Piedmont; he sent courier after cou-
 rier to the duke of Guise, requiring him, to

BOOK XII. 1557. gether with all his army, to return instantly for the defence of their country; he dispatched one envoy to the Grand Signior, to solicit the assistance of his fleet, and the loan of a sum of money; he sent another into Scotland, to incite the Scots to invade the north of England, that, by drawing Mary's attention to that quarter, he might prevent her from reinforcing her troops which served under Philip. These efforts of the King were warmly seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The city of Paris granted him a free gift of three hundred thousand livres. The other great towns imitated the liberality of the capital, and contributed in proportion. Several noblemen of distinction engaged, at their own expence, to garrison and defend the towns which lay most exposed to the enemy. Nor was the general concern for the publick confined to communities alone, or to those in the higher sphere of life, but diffusing itself among persons of every rank, each individual seemed disposed to act with as much vigour as if the honour of the King, and the safety of the state, had depended solely on his personal efforts¹².

The victory
of St. Quin-
tin produc-
tive of few

PHILIP, who was no stranger either to the prudent measures taken by the French monarch for the security of his dominions, or to the spirit

¹² Mém. de Ribier, ii. 701. 703.

with which his subjects prepared to defend them-
 selves, perceived, when it was too late, that he
 had lost an opportunity which could never be
 recalled, and that it was now vain to think of
 penetrating into the heart of France. He aban-
 doned, therefore, without much reluctance, a
 scheme which was too bold and hazardous to
 be perfectly agreeable to his cautious temper;
 and employed his army, during the remainder
 of the campaign, in the sieges of Ham and
 Catelet. Of these, he soon became master;
 and the reduction of two such petty towns, to-
 gether with the acquisition of St. Quintin, were
 all the advantages which he derived from one
 of the most decisive victories gained in that
 century. Philip himself, however, continued
 in high exultation on account of his success;
 and as all his passions were tinged with super-
 stition, he, in memory of the battle of St. quin-
 tin, which had been fought on the day conse-
 crated to St. Laurence, vowed to build a church,
 a monastery, and a palace, sacred to that saint
 and martyr. Before the expiration of the year,
 he laid the foundation of an edifice, in which
 all these were united, at the Escorial in the
 neighbourhood of Madrid; and the same prin-
 ciple, which dictated the vow, directed the
 building. For the plan of the work was so
 formed as to resemble a gridiron, which, accord-

Book XII.

1557.

beneficial
consequen-
ces.

BOOK XII. ing to the legendary tale, had been the instru-
 1557. ment of St. Laurence's martyrdom. Notwith-
 standing the vast and expensive schemes, in
 which his restless ambition involved him, Philip
 continued the building with such perseverance
 for twenty-two years, and reserved such vast
 sums for this monument of his devotion and va-
 nity, that the monarchs of Spain are indebted
 to him for a royal residence, which, though not
 the most elegant, is certainly the most sumptu-
 ous and magnificent of any in Europe¹³.

The French
 army recall-
 ed out of
 Italy.

THE first account of that fatal blow which
 the French had received at St. Quintin was
 carried to Rome by the courier, whom Henry
 had sent to recall the duke of Guise. As Paul,
 even with the assistance of his French auxili-
 aries, had hardly been able to check the pro-
 gress of the Spanish arms, he foresaw that, as
 soon as he was deprived of their protection, his
 territories must be over-run in a moment. He
 remonstrated therefore with the greatest violence
 against the departure of the French army, re-
 proaching the duke of Guise for his ill conduct,
 which had brought him into such an unhappy
 situation; and complaining of the King for
 deserting him so ungenerously under such cir-
 cumstances. Guise's orders, however, were

¹³ Colmenar. Annales d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 136.

peremptory. Paul, inflexible as he was, found it necessary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Cosmo di Medici, in order to obtain peace. Philip, who had been forced unwillingly to a rupture with the Pope, and who, even while success crowned his arms, doubted so much the justice of his own cause, that he had made frequent overtures of pacification, listened eagerly to the first proposals of this nature from Paul, and discovered such moderation in his demands, as could hardly have been expected from a Prince elated with victory.

THE duke of Alva on the part of Philip, and the Cardinal Caraffa in the name of his uncle, met at Cavi, and both being equally disposed to peace, they, after a short conference, terminated the war by a treaty, on the following terms: That Paul should renounce his league with France, and maintain for the future such a neutrality as became the common father of Christendom; That Philip should instantly restore all the towns of the ecclesiastical territory of which he had taken possession; That the claims of the Caraffas to the dutchy of Paliano, and other demesnes of the Colonnas, should be referred to the decision of the republic of

Book XII.
1557.
A treaty of
peace be-
tween the
Pope and
Philip.

BOOK XII. Venice; That the duke of Alva should repair
 1557. in person to Rome, and after asking pardon of Paul in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive the Pope's absolution from that crime. Thus Paul, through Philip's scrupulous timidity, finished an unprosperous war without any detriment to the Papal See. The conqueror appeared humble, and acknowledged his error; while he who had been vanquished retained his usual haughtiness, and was treated with every mark of superiority¹⁴. The duke of Alva, in terms of the treaty, repaired to Rome, and in the posture of a suppliant, kissed the feet, and implored the forgiveness of that very person, whom his arms had reduced to the last extremity. Such was the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the papal character, that Alva, though perhaps the proudest man of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with Princes, acknowledged that when he approached the Pope, he was so much overawed, that his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him¹⁵.

¹⁴ Pallav. lib. iii. 183. F. Paul, 380. Herrera, vol. i. 310. ¹⁵ Pallav. lib. xiii. 185. Summonte Istoria di Napoli, iv. 286.

BUT though this war, which at its com- Book XII.
mencement threatened mighty revolutions, was 1557.
brought to an end without occasioning any Philip re-
alteration in those States, which were its imme- stores Pla-
diate object, it produced effects of considerable centia to
consequence in other parts of Italy. As Philip Octavio
was extremely solicitous to terminate his quarrel Farnese.
with Paul as speedily as possible, he was willing
to make any sacrifice in order to gain those
Princes, who, by joining their troops to the
Papal and French army, might have prolonged
the war. With this view, he entered into a
negociation with Octavio Farnese, duke of
Parma, and, in order to seduce him from his
alliance with France, he restored to him the
city of Placentia with the territory depending
on it, which Charles V. had seized in the year
one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, had
kept from that time in his possession and had
transmitted, together with his other dominions,
to Philip.

THIS step made such a discovery of Philip's Cosmo di
character and views to Cosmo di Medici, the Medici's
most sagacious as well as provident of all the measures
Italian Princes, that he conceived hopes of ac- for obtain-
complishing his favourable scheme of adding ing Siena
Siena and its territories to his dominions in
Tuscany. As his success in this attempt de-

BOOK XII.
1557.

pended entirely on the delicacy of address with which it should be conducted, he employed all the refinements of policy in the negociation which he set on foot for this purpose. He began with soliciting Philip, whose treasury he knew to be entirely drained by the expence of the war, to repay the great sums which he had advanced to the Emperor during the siege of Siena. When Philip endeavoured to elude a demand which he was unable to satisfy, Cosmo affected to be extremely disquieted, and making no secret of his disgust, instructed his ambassador at Rome to open a negociation with the Pope, which seemed to be the effect of it. The ambassador executed his commission with such dexterity, that Paul, imagining Cosmo to be entirely alienated from the Spanish interest, proposed to him an alliance with France, which should be cemented by the marriage of his eldest son to one of Henry's daughters. Cosmo received the overture with such apparent satisfaction, and with so many professions of gratitude for the high honour of which he had the prospect, that not only the Pope's ministers, but the French envoy at Rome, talked confidently, and with little reserve, of the accession of that important ally; as a matter certain and decided. The account of this was quickly carried to Philip; and Cosmo, who foresaw how much it would alarm him, had dispatched his nephew Ludovico

de Toledo into the Netherlands, that he might be at hand to observe and take advantage of his consternation, before the first impression which it made should in any degree abate. Cosmo was extremely fortunate in the choice of the instrument whom he employed. Toledo waited, with patience, until he discovered with certainty, that Philip had received such intelligence of his uncle's negotiations at Rome, as must have filled his suspicious mind with fear and jealousy; and then craving an audience, he required payment of the money which had been borrowed by the Emperor, in the most earnest and peremptory terms. In urging that point, he artfully threw out several dark hints and ambiguous declarations, concerning the extremities to which Cosmo might be driven by a refusal of this just demand, as well as by other grievances of which he had good reason to complain.

PHILIP, astonished at an address in such a strain, from a Prince so far his inferior as the duke of Tuscany, and comparing what he now heard, with the information which he had received from Italy, immediately concluded that Cosmo had ventured to assume this bold and unusual tone on the prospect of his union with France. In order to prevent the Pope and Henry from acquiring an ally, who by his

Book XII.
1557.
Their success.

BOOK XII. abilities as well as the situation of his dominions
 1557. would have added both reputation and strength to their confederacy, he offered to grant Cosmo the investiture of Siena, if he would consent to accept of it as an equivalent for the sums due to him, and engage to furnish a body of troops towards the defence of Philip's territories in Italy, against any power who should attack them. As soon as Cosmo had brought Philip to make this concession, which was the object of all his artifices and intrigues, he did not protract the negociation by any unnecessary delay, or any excess of refinement, but closed eagerly with the proposal, and Philip, in spite of the remonstrances of his ablest counsellors, signed a treaty with him to that effect¹⁶.

As no Prince was ever more tenacious of his rights than Philip, or less willing to relinquish any territory which he possessed, by what tenure soever he held it, these unusual concessions to the dukes of Parma and Tuscany, by which he wantonly gave up countries, in acquiring or defending which, his father had employed many years, and wasted much blood and treasure, cannot be accounted for from any motive, but his superstitious desire of extricating himself out

¹⁶ Thuan. lib. xviii. 624. Herrera, i. 263. 275. Pallav. lib. xiii. 180.

of the war which he had been forced to wage Book XII.
 against the Pope. By these treaties, however, 1557.
 the balance of power among the Italian States
 was poized with greater equality, and rendered
 less variable than it had been since it received
 the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles
 VIII. of France. From this period Italy ceased
 to be the great theatre, on which the monarchs
 of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for
 power or for fame. Their dissensions and hos-
 tilities, though as frequent and violent as ever,
 being excited by new objects, stained other re-
 gions of Europe with blood, and rendered
 them miserable in their turn, by the devastations
 of war.

THE duke of Guise left Rome on the same Sept. 29.
 day that his adversary the duke of Alva made The duke
 his humiliating submission to the Pope. He of Guise's
 was received in France as the guardian angel reception in
 of the kingdom. His late ill success in Italy France,
 seemed to be forgotten, while his former ser-
 vices, particularly his defence of Metz, were
 recounted with exaggerated praise; and he was
 welcomed in every city through which he passed,
 as the restorer of publick security, who, after
 having set bounds by his conduct and valour
 to the victorious arms of Charles V. returned
 now, at the call of his country, to check the

BOOK XII. formidable progress of Philip's power. The reception which he met with from Henry was no less cordial and honourable. New titles were invented, and new dignities created, in order to distinguish him. He was appointed lieutenant-general in chief both within and without the kingdom, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited, and hardly inferior to that which was possessed by the King himself. Thus, through the singular felicity which attended the Princes of Lorraine, the miscarriage of their own schemes contributed to aggrandize them. The calamities of his country, and the ill-conduct of his rival the Constable, exalted the duke of Guise to a height of dignity and power, which he could not have expected to attain by the most fortunate and most complete success of his own ambitious projects.

Takes the
command
of the army.

THE duke of Guise, eager to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, and that he might justify the extraordinary confidence which the King had reposed in him, ordered all the troops, which could be got together, to assemble at Compiègne. Though the winter was well advanced, and had set in with extreme rigour, he placed himself at their head, and took the field. By Henry's activity and the zeal of his subjects, so many soldiers had been raised in the kingdom,

and such considerable reinforcements had been drawn from Germany and Swisserland, as formed an army respectable even in the eyes of a victorious enemy. Philip, alarmed at seeing it put in motion at such an uncommon season, began to tremble for his new conquests, particularly St. Quintin, the fortifications of which were hitherto but imperfectly repaired.

BOOK XII.
1557.

BUT the duke of Guise meditated a more important enterprize; and after amusing the enemy with threatening successively different towns on the frontiers of Flanders, he turned suddenly to the left, and invested Calais with his whole army. Calais had been taken by the English under Edward III. and was the fruit of that monarch's glorious victory at Crecy. Being the only place that they retained of their ancient and extensive territories in France, and which opened to them, at all times, an easy and secure passage into the heart of that kingdom, their keeping possession of it soothed the pride of the one nation as much as it mortified the vanity of the other. Its situation was naturally so strong, and its fortifications deemed so impregnable, that no monarch of France, how adventurous soever, had been bold enough to attack it. Even when the domestick strength of England was broken and exhausted by the

He invests
Calais.
1558.
January 1st.

BOOK XII. bloody wars between the houses of York and
 1558. Lancaster, and its attention entirely diverted
 from foreign objects, Calais had remained un-
 disturbed and unthreatened. Mary and her
 council, composed chiefly of ecclesiasticks, un-
 acquainted with military affairs, and whose whole
 attention was turned towards extirpating heresy
 out of the kingdom, had not only neglected to
 take any precautions for the safety of this im-
 portant place, but seemed to think that the
 reputation of its strength alone was sufficient
 for its security. Full of this opinion, they ven-
 tured, even after the declaration of war, to
 continue a practice which the low state of the
 Queen's finances had introduced in times of
 peace. As the country adjacent to Calais was
 overflowed during the winter, and the marshes
 around it became impassable, except by one
 avenue, which the forts of St. Agatha and
 Newnham-bridge commanded, it had been the
 custom of the English to dismiss the greater part
 of the garrison towards the end of autumn, and
 to replace it in the spring. In vain did Lord
 Wentworth, the governor of Calais, remon-
 strate against this ill-timed parsimony, and re-
 present the possibility of his being attacked sud-
 denly, while he had not troops sufficient to
 man the works. The privy-council treated
 these remonstrances with scorn, as if they had

Its defence.
 less state.

flowed from the timidity or the rapaciousness of the governor; and some of them, with that confidence which is the companion of ignorance, boasted that they would defend Calais with their white rods against any enemy who should approach it during winter¹⁷. In vain did Philip, who had passed through Calais as he returned from England to the Netherlands, warn the Queen of the danger to which it was exposed; and acquainting her with what was necessary for its security, in vain did he offer to reinforce the garrison during winter with a detachment of his own troops. Mary's counsellors, though obsequious to her in all points wherein religion was concerned, distrusted, as much as the rest of their countrymen, every proposition that came from her husband; and suspecting this to be an artifice of Philip's, in order to gain the command of the town, they neglected his intelligence, declined his offer, and left Calais with less than a fourth of the men requisite for its defence. BOOK XII.
1558.

It was his knowledge of this which encouraged the duke of Guise to venture on an enterprize, that surpris'd his own countrymen, no less than his enemies. As he knew that its success depended on conducting his operations Guise pushes
the siege
with vigour.

¹⁷ Carte, iii. 345.

BOOK XII. 1558. with such rapidity as would afford the English no time for throwing relief into the town by sea, and prevent Philip from giving him any interruption by land, he pushed the attack with a degree of vigour little known in carrying on sieges, during that age. He drove the English from fort St. Agatha at the first assault. He obliged them to abandon the fort of Newnhambridge after defending it three days. He took the castle which commanded the harbour by storm; and on the eighth day after he appeared before Calais, compelled the governor to surrender, as his feeble garrison, which did not exceed five hundred men, was worn out with the fatigue of sustaining so many attacks, and defending such extensive works.

Takes the town,

and likewise
Guines and
Hames.

THE duke of Guise, without allowing the English time to recover from the consternation occasioned by this blow, immediately invested Guines, the garrison of which, though more numerous, defended itself with less vigour, and after standing one brisk assault, gave up the town. The castle of Hames was abandoned by the troops posted there, without waiting the approach of the enemy.

The splendour and effect of

THUS, in a few days, during the depth of winter, and at a time when the fatal battle of

St. Quintin had so depressed the sanguine spirit Book XII.
of the French, that their utmost aim was to 1558.
protect their own country, without dreaming ^{these con-}
of making conquests on the enemy, the enter- ^{quests.}
prising valour of one man drove the English
out of Calais, after they had held it two hun-
dred and ten years, and deprived them of every
foot of land in a kingdom, where their domi-
nions had been once so extensive. This exploit,
at the same time that it gave an high idea of
the power and resources of France to all Eu-
rope, set the duke of Guise, in the opinion of
his countrymen, far above all the generals of
the age. They celebrated his conquests with
immoderate transports of joy; while the English
gave vent to all the passions, which animate a
high-spirited people, when any great national
calamity is manifestly owing to the ill conduct
of their rulers. Mary and her ministers, for-
merly odious, were now contemptible in their
eyes. All the terrors of her severe and arbi-
trary administration could not restrain them
from uttering execrations and threats against
those, who having wantonly involved the nation
in a quarrel wherein it was nowise interested,
had by their negligence or incapacity brought
irreparable disgrace on their country, and lost
the most valuable possession belonging to the
English crown.

BOOK XII. THE French King imitated the conduct of
 1558. its former conqueror, Edward III. with regard to Calais. He commanded all the English inhabitants to quit the town, and giving their houses to his own subjects, whom he allured to settle there by granting them various immunities, he left a numerous garrison, under an experienced governor, for their defence. After this, his victorious army went into quarters of refreshment, and the usual inaction of winter returned.

Feb. 24.

Charles's
 resignation
 of the Imperial
 crown.

DURING these various operations, Ferdinand assembled the college of Electors at Frankfort, in order to lay before them the deed whereby Charles V. had resigned the Imperial crown, and transferred it to him. This he had hitherto delayed on account of some difficulties which had occurred concerning the formalities requisite in supplying a vacancy occasioned by an event, to which there was no parallel in the annals of the Empire. These being at length adjusted, the Prince of Orange executed the commission with which he had been entrusted by Charles; the Electors accepted of his resignation; declared Ferdinand his lawful successor; and put him in possession of all the ensigns of the Imperial dignity.

BUT when the new Emperor sent Gusman BOOK XII.
 his chancellor, to acquaint the Pope with this 1558.
 transaction, to testify his reverence towards the The Pope
 Holy See, and to signify that, according to refuses to
 form, he would soon dispatch an ambassador acknow-
 extraordinary to treat with his holiness concern- ledge Ferdi-
 ing his coronation; Paul, whom neither expe- nand as
 rience nor disappointments could teach to bring Emperor.
 down his lofty ideas of the papal prerogative
 to such a moderate standard as suited the genius
 of the times, refused to admit the envoy into
 his presence, and declared all the proceedings
 at Frankfort irregular and invalid. He con-
 tended that the Pope, as the vicerent of Christ,
 was entrusted with the keys both of celestial
 and terrestrial government; that from him the
 Imperial jurisdiction was derived; that though
 his predecessors had authorized the Electors to
 chuse an Emperor whom the Holy See con-
 firmed, this privilege was confined to those cases
 when a vacancy was occasioned by death; that
 the instrument of Charles's resignation had been
 presented in an improper court, as it belonged
 to the Pope alone to reject or to accept of it, and
 to nominate a person to fill the Imperial throne;
 that, setting aside all these objections, Ferdi-
 nand's election laboured under two defects
 which alone were sufficient to render it void, for
 the Protestant Electors had been admitted to

BOOK XII.

1558.

vote, though by their apostacy from the catholic faith, they had forfeited that and every other privilege of the electoral office; and Ferdinand, by ratifying the concessions of several Diets in favour of hereticks, had rendered himself unworthy of the Imperial dignity, which was instituted for the protection, not for the destruction of the church. But after thundering out these extravagant maxims, he added with an appearance of condescension, that if Ferdinand would renounce all title to the Imperial crown, founded on the election at Frankfort, make professions of repentance for his past conduct, and supplicate him, with due humility, to confirm Charles's resignation, as well as his assumption to the Empire, he might expect every mark of favour from his paternal clemency and goodness. Gusman, though he had foreseen considerable difficulties in his negociation with the Pope, little expected that he would have revived those antiquated and wild pretensions, which astonished him so much, that he hardly knew in what tone he ought to reply. He prudently declined entering into any controversy concerning the nature or extent of the papal jurisdiction, and confining himself to the political considerations, which should determine the Pope to recognise an Emperor already in possession, he endeavoured to place them in such a

light, as he imagined could scarcely fail to strike Paul, if he were not altogether blind to his own interest. Philip seconded Gufman's arguments with great earnestness, by an ambassador whom he sent to Rome on purpose, and besought the Pope to desist from claims so unseasonable, as might not only irritate and alarm Ferdinand and the Princes of the Empire, but furnish the enemies of the Holy See with a new reason for representing its jurisdiction as incompatible with the rights of Princes, and subversive of all civil authority. But Paul, who deemed it a crime to attend to any consideration suggested by human prudence or policy, when he thought himself called upon to assert the prerogatives of the Papal See, remained inflexible; and during his pontificate, Ferdinand was not acknowledged as Emperor by the court of Rome¹⁸.

BOOK XII.
1558.

WHILE Henry was intent upon his preparations for the approaching campaign, he received accounts of the issue of his negotiations in Scotland. Long experience having at last taught the Scots the imprudence of involving their country in every quarrel between France and England, neither the solicitations of his ambassador, nor the address and authority of the Queen-

Henry endeavours to excite the Scots against England.

¹⁸ Godleveys de Abdicat. Car. V. ap. Gold. polit. Imper. 392. Palav. lib. xiii. 189. Ribier, ii. 746. 759.

BOOK XII. regent, could prevail on them to take arms
 1558. against a kingdom, with which they were at
 peace. On this occasion the ardour of a mar-
 tial nobility and of a turbulent people was re-
 strained by regard for the publick interest and
 tranquillity, which, in former deliberations of
 this kind, had been seldom attended to by a
 nation always prone to rush into every new war.
 But though the Scots adhered with steadiness
 to their pacifick system, they were extremely
 ready to gratify the French King in another
 particular, which he had given in charge to his
 ambassador.

Marriage of
 the Dauphin
 with the
 Queen of
 Scots.

THE young Queen of Scots had been affi-
 anced to the Dauphin in the year one thousand
 five hundred and forty-eight, and having been
 educated since that time in the court of France,
 she had grown up to be the most amiable, and
 one of the most accomplished Princesses of that
 age. Henry demanded the consent of her sub-
 jects to the celebration of the marriage, and a
 parliament which was held for that purpose,
 appointed eight commissioners to represent the
 whole body of the nation at that solemnity,
 with power to sign such deeds as might be re-
 quisite before it was concluded. In settling the
 articles of the marriage, the Scots took every
 precaution that prudence could dictate, in
 order to preserve the liberty and independence

of their country; while the French used every art to secure to the Dauphin the conduct of affairs during the Queen's life, and the succession of the crown on the event of her demise. The marriage was celebrated with pomp suitable to the dignity of the parties, and the magnificence of a court at that time the most splendid in Europe¹⁹. Thus Henry, in the course of a few months, had the glory of recovering an important possession which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and of adding to it the acquisition of a new kingdom. By this event, too, the duke of Guise acquired new consideration and importance; the marriage of his niece to the apparent heir of the crown, raising him so far beyond the condition of other subjects, as seemed to render the credit which he had gained by his great actions, no less permanent than it was extensive.

Book XII.
1558.

April 14.

WHEN the campaign opened, soon after the Dauphin's marriage, the duke of Guise was placed at the head of the army, with the same unlimited powers as formerly. Henry had received such liberal supplies from his subjects that the troops under his command were both numerous and well appointed; while Philip,

The campaign opened.

¹⁹ Keith's history of Scotland, p. 73. Append. 13. Corps Diplom. v. 21.

BOOK XII.

1558.

exhausted by the extraordinary efforts of the preceding year, had been obliged to dismiss so many of his forces during the winter, that he could not bring an army into the field capable of making head against the enemy. The duke of Guise did not lose the favourable opportunity which his superiority afforded him. He invested Thionville in the dutchy of Luxemburgh, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and of great importance to France by its neighbourhood to Metz; and, notwithstanding the obstinate valour with which it was defended, he forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks²⁰.

June 22.

The French
army de-
feated at
Gravelines;

BUT the success of this enterprize, which it was expected would lead to other conquests, was more than counterbalanced by an event that happened in another part of the Low-Countries. The Marechal de Termes, governor of Calais, having penetrated into Flanders without opposition, invested Dunkirk with an army of fourteen thousand men, and took it by storm on the fifth day of the siege. Hence he advanced towards Nieuport, which must have soon fallen into his hands, if the approach of the Count of Egmont with a superior army had not made it prudent to retreat. The French

²⁰ Thuan. lib. xx. 690.

troops were so much encumbered with the booty which they had got at Dunkirk, or by ravaging the open country, that they moved slowly; and Egmont, who had left his heavy baggage and artillery behind him, marched with such rapidity, that he came up with them near Gravelines, and attacked them with the utmost impetuosity. De Termes, who had the choice of the ground, having posted his troops to advantage in the angle formed by the mouth of the river Aa and the sea, received him with great firmness. Victory remained for some time in suspense, the desperate valour of the French, who foresaw the unavoidable destruction that must follow upon a rout in an enemy's country, counterbalancing the superior number of the Flemings, when one of those accidents to which human prudence does not extend, decided the contest in favour of the latter. A squadron of English ships of war, which was cruizing on the coast, being drawn by the noise of the firing towards the place of the engagement, entered the river Aa, and turned its great guns against the right wing of the French, with such effect as immediately broke that body, and spread terror and confusion through the whole army. The Flemings, to whom assistance, so unexpected and so seasonable, gave fresh spirit, redoubled their efforts, that they might not lose the ad-

Book XII. 1558. vantage which fortune had presented them, or give the enemy time to recover from their consternation, and the rout of the French soon became universal. Near two thousand were killed on the spot; a greater number fell by the hands of the peasants, who, in revenge for the cruelty with which their country had been plundered, pursued the fugitives and massacred them without mercy; the rest were taken prisoners, together with De Termes their general, and many officers of distinction²¹.

The duke of Guise opposed to the victorious army.

THIS signal victory, for which the Count of Egmont was afterwards so ill requited by Philip, obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all other schemes, and to hasten towards the frontier of Picardy, that he might oppose the progress of the enemy in that province. This disaster reflected new lustre on his reputation, and once more turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him, as the only general on whose arms victory always attended, and in whose conduct as well as good fortune they could confide in every danger. Henry reinforced Guise's army with so many troops drawn from the adjacent garrisons, that it soon amounted to forty thousand men. That of the enemy, after the junction of Egmont with the duke of Savoy, was not inferior in

²¹ Thuan. lib. xx. 694.

number. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from one another; and each monarch having joined his respective army, it was expected, after the vicissitudes of good and bad success during this and the former campaign, that a decisive battle would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future, and give law to Europe. But though both had it in their power, neither of them discovered any inclination to bring the determination of such an important point to depend upon the uncertain and fortuitous issue of a single battle. The fatal engagements at St. Quintin and Gravelines were too recent to be so soon forgotten, and the prospect of encountering the same troops, commanded by the same generals who had twice triumphed over his arms, inspired Henry with a degree of caution which was not common to him. Philip, of a genius averse to bold operations in war, naturally leaned to cautious measures, and would hazard nothing against a general so fortunate and successful as the duke of Guise. Both monarchs, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive, and fortifying their camps, carefully avoided every skirmish or rencounter that might bring on a general engagement.

BOOK XII.

1558.

Both monarchs begin
to desire
peace.

WHILE the armies continued in this inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an inclination to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The kingdoms of France and Spain had been engaged during half a century in almost continual wars, carried on at great expence and productive of no considerable advantage to either. Exhausted by extraordinary and unceasing efforts, which far exceeded those to which the nations of Europe had been accustomed before the rivalship between Charles V. and Francis I. both nations longed so much for an interval of repose, in order to recruit their strength, that their sovereigns drew from them with difficulty the supplies necessary for carrying on hostilities. The private inclinations of both the Kings concurred with those of their people. Philip was prompted to wish for peace by his fond desire of returning to Spain. Accustomed from his infancy to the climate and manners of that country, he was attached to it with such extreme predilection, that he was unhappy in any other part of his dominions. But as he could not quit the Low-Countries, either with decency or safety, and venture on a voyage to Spain, during the continuance of war, the prospect of a pacification which would put it

in his power to execute his favourite scheme, was highly acceptable. Henry was no less desirous of being delivered from the burden, and avocations of war, that he might have leisure to turn all his attention, and bend the whole force of his government, towards suppressing the opinions of the Reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris and other great towns of France, that they began to grow formidable to the established church.

BOOK XII.

1558.

BESIDES these publick and avowed considerations arising from the state of the two hostile kingdoms, or from the wishes of their respective monarchs, there was a secret intrigue carried on in the court of France, which contributed as much as either of the other, to hasten and to facilitate the negociation of a peace. The Constable Montmorency, during his captivity, beheld the rapid success and growing favour of the duke of Guise, with envious solicitude. Every advantage gained by his rival he considered as a fresh wound to his own reputation, and he knew with what malevolent address it would be improved to diminish his credit with the King, and to augment that of the duke of Guise. These arts, he was afraid, might, by degrees, work on the easy and ductile mind of Henry, so as to efface all remains of

An intrigue
in the court
of France
facilitates it.

BOOK XII. his ancient affection towards himself. But he
1558. could not discover any remedy for this, unless he
were allowed to return home, that he might try
whether by his presence he could defeat the
artifices of his enemies, and revive those warm
and tender sentiments which had long attached
Henry to him, with a confidence so entire, as
resembled rather the cordiality of private friend-
ship, than the cold and selfish connexion be-
tween a monarch and one of his courtiers.
While Montmorency was forming schemes and
wishes for his return to France with much
anxiety of mind, but with little hope of success,
an unexpected incident prepared the way for
it. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who had shared
with his brother in the King's favour, and par-
ticipated of the power which that conferred, did
not bear prosperity with the same discretion as
the duke of Guise. Intoxicated with their
good fortune, he forgot how much they had
been indebted for their present elevation to their
connexions with the dutchess of Valentinois,
and vainly ascribed all to the extraordinary
merit of their family. This led him not only
to neglect his benefactress, but to thwart her
schemes, and to talk with a sarcastick liberty of
her character and person. That singular wo-
man, who, if we may believe contemporary
writers, retained the beauty and charms of

youth at the age of threescore, and on whom it is certain that Henry still doated with all the fondness of love, felt this injury with sensibility, and set herself with eagerness to revenge it. As there was no method of supplanting the Princes of Lorraine so effectually as by a coalition of interests with the Constable, she proposed the marriage of her grand-daughter with one of his sons, as the bond of their future union, and Montmorency readily gave his consent to the match. Having thus cemented their alliance, the Dutches employed all her influence with the King, in order to confirm his inclinations towards peace, and induce him to take the steps necessary for attaining it. She insinuated that any overture of that kind would come with great propriety from the Constable, and if committed to the conduct of his prudence, could hardly fail of success.

BOOK XII.
1558.

HENRY, long accustomed to devolve all affairs of importance to the Constable, and needing only this encouragement to return to his ancient habits, wrote to him immediately with his usual familiarity and affection, empowering him at the same time to take the first opportunity of founding Philip and his ministers with regard to peace. Montmorency made his application to Philip by the most proper channel. He opened

Henry commits the negotiation to Montmorency.

BOOK XII.
1558.

himself to the duke of Savoy, who, notwithstanding the height of preferment to which he had been raised, and the military glory which he had acquired in the Spanish service, was weary of remaining in exile, and languished to return into his dominions. As there was no prospect of his recovering possession of them by force of arms, he considered a definitive treaty of peace between France and Spain, as the only event by which he could hope to obtain restitution. Being no stranger to Philip's private wishes with regard to peace, he easily prevailed on him not only to discover a disposition on his part towards accommodation, but to permit Montmorency to return, on his parole, to France, that he might confirm his own sovereign in his pacifick sentiments. Henry received the Constable with the most flattering marks of regard; absence, instead of having abated or extinguished the Monarch's friendship, seemed to have given it new ardour. Montmorency, from the moment of his appearance in court, assumed, if possible, a higher place than ever in his affection, and a more perfect ascendant over his mind. The Cardinal of Lorraine and duke of Guise prudently gave way to a tide of favour too strong for them to oppose, and confining themselves to their proper departments, permitted, without any struggle, the Constable and dutchess of

Valentinois to direct publick affairs at their pleasure. They soon prevailed on the King to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. Philip did the same. The abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congress; and all military operations were immediately terminated by a suspension of arms.

BOOK XII.
1558.

WHILE these preliminary steps were taking towards a treaty which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whose ambition had so long disturbed it, ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus. When Charles entered this retreat, he formed such a plan of life for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat but plain; his domesticks few; his intercourse with them familiar; all the cumbersome and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted in order to sooth the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burden and cares of government, procured him, at first, a considerable remission from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude, than all his grandeur had ever

Death of
Charles V.

BOOK XII. yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had so long engrossed and disquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind: Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the Princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from any inquiry concerning them; and he seemed to view the busy scene which he had abandoned with all the contempt and indifference arising from his thorough experience of its vanity, as well as from the pleasing reflection of having disentangled himself from its cares.

His amuse-
ments in his
retreat.

OTHER amusements, and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond; and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious

artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers, and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the inventions of the artist. He relieved his mind, at intervals, with flighter and more fantastick works of mechanism, in fashioning puppets, which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicked the gestures and actions of men, to the no small astonishment of the ignorant monks, who beholding movements, which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their own senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact with invisible powers. He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the intricate and mysterious doctrines of religion.

BUT in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a His more serious occupations.

BOOK XII. considerable portion of it for religious exercises.
 1558. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery, every morning and evening; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard; and conversed much with his confessor, and the prior of the monastery on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines of a future world, either in innocent amusements, which soothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business; or in devout occupations, which he deemed necessary in preparing for another state.

The causes
 of his death.

BUT about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any

kind. He endeavoured to conform, in his manner of living, to all the rigour of monastick austerity. He desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the Missal. As an expiation for his sins, he gave himself the discipline in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with his blood. Nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating all that he had done, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon, as any that superstition ever suggested; to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domesticks marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin, with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles

BOOK XII. 1558. joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments, which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days²².

His character.

As Charles was the first Prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we consider the greatness, the variety or the success of his undertakings, was the most conspicuous. It is from an attentive observation of his conduct, not from the exaggerated praises of the Spanish historians, or the undif-

²² Strada de Bello Belg. lib. i. p. 11. Thuan. 723. Sandoz. ii. 609, &c. Miniana Contin. Marianæ, vol. iv. 216. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos, p. 111.

tinguishing censure of the French, that a just idea of Charles's genius and abilities is to be collected. He possessed qualities so peculiar, as strongly mark his character, and not only distinguish him from the Princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that superiority over them which he so long maintained. In forming his schemes, he was, by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultations. Of consequence, Charles's measures, instead of resembling the desultory and irregular sallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I. had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all the parts were arranged, the effects were foreseen, and the accidents were provided for. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in

BOOK XII. 1558. deliberation. He consulted with phlegm, but he acted with vigour; and did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means for rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn, that during the most ardent and bustling period of life he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction, that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no minister in the cabinet, no ambassador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them. Though destitute of that bewitching affability of manners, which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attach-

ment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame, nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies, may be placed on a level with those illustrious personages who have attained the highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals, are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract, in some degree, from his own merit, if the talent of discovering and employing such instruments were not the most undoubted proof of a capacity for government.

BOOK XII.

1558.

THERE were, nevertheless, defects in his political character which must considerably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was insatiable; and though there seems to be no foundation for an opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror, involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior police and improvement of his kingdoms,

BOOK XII.

1558.

the great objects of every Prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the Imperial crown to the kingdoms of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the houses of Austria and Burgundy, this opened to him such a vast field of enterprize, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity, as were dishonourable in a great Prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undefigning character of his contemporaries Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct, as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concerted plan.

plan. Persons who act in the former manner, naturally pursue the end in view, without assuming any disguise, or displaying much address. Such as hold the latter course, are apt, in forming as well as in executing their designs, to employ such refinements as always lead to artifice in conduct, and often degenerate into deceit.

BOOK XII.

1558.

THE circumstances transmitted to us, with respect to Charles's private deportment and character, are fewer and less interesting, than might have been expected from the great number of authors who have undertaken to write an account of his life. These are not the object of this history, which aims more at representing the great transactions of the reign of Charles V. than at delineating his private virtues or defects.

THE plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and England, continued their conferences at Cer-
camp; and though each of them, with the usual art of negociators, made at first very high demands in the name of their respective courts, yet as they were all equally desirous of peace, they would have consented reciprocally to such abatements and restrictions of their claims, as must have removed every obstacle to an accommodation. The death of Charles V. was a new

Conference
in order to
peace.

BOOK XII. motive with Philip to hasten the conclusion of
 1558. a treaty, as it increased his impatience for re-
 turning into Spain, where there was now no per-
 son greater or more illustrious than himself. But,
 in spite of the concurring wishes of all the par-
 ties interested, an event happened which occa-
 sioned an unavoidable delay in their negocia-
 tions. About a month after the opening of the
 conferences at Cêrcamp, Mary of England ended
 Nov. 17. her short and inglorious reign, and Elizabeth
 Death of her sister was immediately proclaimed Queen by
 Mary of the English with universal joy. As the powers
 England. of the English plenipotentiaries expired on the
 death of their mistress, they could not proceed
 until they received a commission and instruc-
 tions from their new sovereign.

Henry and
 Philip court
 Elizabeth
 her success-
 for.

HENRY and Philip beheld Elizabeth's eleva-
 tion to the throne with equal solicitude. As
 during Mary's jealous administration, under the
 most difficult circumstances, and in a situation
 extremely delicate, that Princess had conducted
 herself with prudence and address far exceeding
 her years, they had conceived an high idea of
 her abilities, and already formed expectations of
 a reign very different from that of her sister.
 Equally sensible of the importance of gaining
 her favour, both monarchs set themselves with
 emulation to court it, and employed every art

in order to insinuate themselves into her confidence. Each of them had something meritorious, with regard to Elizabeth, to plead in his own behalf. Henry had offered her a retreat in his dominions, if the dread of her sister's violence should force her to fly for safety out of England. Philip, by his powerful intercession, had prevented Mary from proceeding to the most fatal extremities against her. Each of them endeavoured now, to avail himself of the circumstances in his favour. Henry wrote to Elizabeth soon after her accession, with the warmest expressions of regard and friendship. He represented the war which had unhappily been kindled between their kingdoms, not as a national quarrel, but as the effect of Mary's blind partiality to her husband and fond compliance with all his wishes. He entreated her to disengage herself from an alliance which had proved so unfortunate to England, and to consent to a separate peace with him, without mingling her interests with those of Spain, from which they ought now to be altogether disjoined. Philip, on the other hand, unwilling to lose his connexion with England, the importance of which, during a rupture with France, he had so recently experienced, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cul-

BOOK XII.

1558.

tivate the strictest amity with her, but in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the Pope to that effect.

Elizabeth's
delibera-
tions con-
cerning her
conduct.

ELIZABETH weighed the proposals of the two Monarchs attentively, and with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations. She gave some encouragement to Henry's overture of a separate negociation, because it opened a channel of correspondence with France, which she might find to be of great advantage, if Philip should not discover sufficient zeal and sollicitude for securing to her, proper terms in the joint treaty. But she ventured on this step with the most cautious reserve, that she might not alarm Philip's suspicious temper, and lose an ally in attempting to gain an enemy²³. Henry himself, by an unpardonable act of indiscretion, prevented her from carrying her intercourse with him to such a length as might have offended or alienated Philip. At the very time when he was courting Elizabeth's friendship with the greatest assiduity, he yielded with an inconsiderate facility to the solicitations of the Princes of Lorrain, and allowed his daughter-in-law

²³ Forbes, i. p. 4.

the Queen of Scots, to assume the title and arms of Queen of England. This ill-timed pretension, the source of many calamities to the unfortunate Queen of Scots, extinguished at once all the confidence that might have grown between Henry and Elizabeth, and left in its place distrust, resentment, and antipathy. Elizabeth found that she must unite her interests closely with Philip's, and expect peace only from negotiations carried on in conjunction with him²⁴.

BOOK XII.
1558.

As she had granted a commission, immediately after her accession, to the same plenipotentiaries whom her sister had employed, she now instructed them to act in every point in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Spain, and to take no step until they had previously consulted with them²⁵. But though she deemed it prudent to assume this appearance of confidence in the Spanish Monarch, she knew precisely how far to carry it; and discovered no inclination to accept of that extraordinary proposal of marriage which Philip had made to her. The English had expressed so openly their detestation of her sister's choice of him, that it would have been highly imprudent to have exasperated

She empowers ambassadors to treat of peace.

²⁴ Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 11. Carte's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 375. ²⁵ Forbes' full View, i. p. 37 40.

BOOK XII. them by renewing that odious alliance. She
 1558. was too well acquainted with Philip's harsh imperious temper, to think of him for a husband. Nor could she admit a dispensation from the Pope to be sufficient to authorize her marrying him, without condemning her father's divorce from Catharine of Arragon, and acknowledging of consequence that her mother's marriage was null, and her own birth illegitimate. But though she determined not to yield to Philip's addresses, the situation of her affairs rendered it dangerous to reject them; she returned her answer, therefore, in terms which were evasive, but so tempered with respect, that though they gave him no reason to be secure of success, they did not altogether extinguish his hopes.

Negociations at
 Cateau-
 Cambresis.

1559.
 February 6.

By this artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she concealed her sentiments and intentions concerning religion, for some time after her accession, she so far gained upon Philip, that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences which were renewed at Cercamp, and afterwards removed to Cateau-Cambresis. A definitive treaty, which was to adjust the claims and pretensions of so many Princes, required the examination of such a variety of intricate points, and led to such infinite and minute details, as drew out the negotiations to

a great length. But the constable Montmorency exerted himself with such indefatigable zeal and industry, repairing alternately to the courts of Paris and Brussels, in order to obviate or remove every difficulty, that all points in dispute were adjusted at length in such a manner, as to give entire satisfaction in every particular to Henry and Philip; and the last hand was ready to be put to the treaty between them.

BOOK XII.
1559.

THE claims of England remained as the only obstacle to retard it. Elizabeth demanded the restitution of Calais, in the most peremptory tone, as an essential condition of her consenting to peace; Henry refused to give up that important conquest; and both seemed to have taken their resolution with unalterable firmness. Philip warmly supported Elizabeth's pretension to Calais, not merely from a principle of equity towards the English nation, that he might appear to have contributed to their recovering what they had lost by espousing his cause; nor solely with a view of soothing Elizabeth by this manifestation of zeal for her interest; but in order to render France less formidable, by securing to her ancient enemy this easy access into the heart of the kingdom. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries,

Difficulties
with regard
to the claims
of England.

BOOK XII. 1559. soon began to relax. During the course of the negociation, Elizabeth, who now felt herself firmly seated on her throne, began to take such open and vigorous measures not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the Protestant church on a firm foundation, as convinced Philip that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. From that period, his interpositions in her favour became more cold and formal, flowing merely from regard to decorum, or from the consideration of remote political interests. Elizabeth, having reason to expect such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But as nothing would have been of greater detriment to her people, or more inconsistent with her schemes of domestic administration, than the continuance of war, she saw the necessity of submitting to such conditions as the situation of her affairs imposed, and that she must reckon upon being deserted by an ally who was now united to her by a very feeble tie, if she did not speedily reduce her demands to what was moderate and attainable. She accordingly gave new instructions to her ambassadors; and Philip's plenipotentiaries acting as mediators between the French and them²⁶,

²⁶ Forbes, i. 59.

an expedient was fallen upon, which, in some degree, justified Elizabeth's departing from the rigour of her first demand with regard to Calais. All lesser articles were settled without much discussion or delay. Philip, that he might not appear to have abandoned the English, insisted that the treaty between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form, before that between the French monarch and him. The one was signed on the second day of April, the other on the day following.

THE treaty of peace between France and England contained no articles of real importance, but that which respected Calais. It was stipulated; That the King of France should retain possession of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years; That, at the expiration of that term, he should restore it to England; That in case of non performance, he should forfeit five hundred thousand crowns for the payment of which sum, seven or eight wealthy merchants, who were not his subjects, should grant security; That five persons of distinction should be given as hostages until that security were provided; That although the forfeit of five hundred thousand crowns should be paid, the right of England to Calais should still remain entire in the same manner as if the term of

BOOK XII.

1559.

Articles of
peace be-
tween
France and
England.

BOOK XII. eight years were expired; That the King and
 1559. Queen of Scotland should be included in the
 treaty; That if they, or the French King, should
 violate the peace by any hostile action, Henry
 should be obliged instantly to restore Calais;
 That on the other hand, if any breach of the
 treaty proceeded from Elizabeth, then Henry
 and the King and Queen of Scots were absolved
 from all the engagements which they had come
 under by this treaty.

The views of
 both parties
 with respect
 to these.

NOTWITHSTANDING the studied attention with
 which so many precautions were taken, it is
 evident that Henry did not intend the restitution
 of Calais, nor is it probable that Elizabeth ex-
 pected it. It was hardly possible that she could
 maintain, during the course of eight years, such
 perfect concord both with France and Scotland,
 as not to afford Henry some pretext for alleg-
 ing that she had violated the treaty. But even
 if that term should elapse without any ground
 for complaint, Henry might then chuse to pay
 the sum stipulated, and Elizabeth had no me-
 thod of asserting her right but by force of arms.
 However, by throwing the articles in the treaty
 with regard to Calais into this form, Elizabeth
 satisfied her subjects of every denomination;
 she gave men of discernment a striking proof
 of her address, in palliating what she could not

prevent; and amused the multitude, to whom the cession of such an important place would have appeared altogether infamous, with the prospect of recovering in a short time that favourite possession. BOOK XII.
1559.

THE expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, was the negotiating two treaties of marriage, one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldest daughter, and Philip, who supplanted his son, the unfortunate Don Carlos, to whom that Princess had been promised in the former conferences at Cercamp; the other between Margaret, Henry's only sister, and the Duke of Savoy. For feeble as the ties of blood often are among Princes, or how little soever they may regard them when pushed on to act by motives of ambition, they assume on other occasions the appearance of being so far influenced by these domestick affections, as to employ them to justify measures and concessions which they find to be necessary, but know to be impolitick or dishonourable. Such was the use Henry made of the two marriages to which he gave his consent. Having secured an honourable establishment for his sister and his daughter, he, in consideration of these, granted terms both to Philip and the Duke of Savoy,

An expedient which promotes peace between France and Spain.

BOOK XII. of which he would not, on any other account,
1559. have ventured to approve.

The terms
of pacifica-
tion.

THE principal articles in the treaty between France and Spain were: That a sincere and perpetual amity should be established between the two crowns and their respective allies; That the two monarchs should labour in concert to procure the convocation of a general council, in order to check the progress of heresy, and restore unity and concord to the Christian church; That all conquests made by either party, on this side of the Alps, since the commencement of the war in one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, should be mutually restored; That the dutchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the country of Bresse, and all the other territories formerly subject to the Dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, the towns of Turin, Quiers, Pignerol, Chivaz, and Villanova excepted, of which Henry should keep possession until his claims on that Prince, in right of his grandmother, should be heard and decided in course of law; That as long as Henry retained these places in his hands, Philip should be at liberty to keep garrisons in the towns of Vercelli and Asti; That the French King should

immediately evacuate all the places which he held in Tuscany and the Sienese, and renounce all future pretensions to them; that he should restore the marquisate of Montferrat to the Duke of Mantua; that he should receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica; that none of the Princes or states, to whom these cessions were made, should call their subjects to account for any part of their conduct while under the dominion of their enemies, but should bury all past transactions in oblivion. The Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Portugal, the King and Queen of Scots, and almost every Prince and state in Christendom, were comprehended in this pacification as the allies either of Henry or of Philip ²⁷.

THUS, by this famous treaty, peace was re-establisht in Europe. All the causes of discord which had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, which had transmitted hereditary quarrels and wars from Charles to Philip, and from Francis to Henry, seemed to be wholly removed, or finally terminated. The French alone complained of the unequal conditions of a treaty, into which an

Which re-establisht tranquillity in Europe.

²⁷ Recueil des Traitez, tom. ii. 287.

BOOK XII. 1559. ambitious minister, in order to recover his liberty, and an artful mistress, that she might gratify her resentment, had seduced their too easy monarch. They exclaimed loudly against the folly of giving up to the enemies of France, an hundred and eighty-nine fortified places, in the Low Countries or in Italy, in return for the three insignificant towns of St. Quintin, Ham, and Catelet. They considered it as an indelible stain upon the glory of the nation, to renounce in one day territories so extensive, and so capable of being defended, that the enemy could not have hoped to wrest them out of their hands, after many years of victory and success.

The peace
between
France and
Spain ratified.

BUT Henry, without regarding the sentiments of his people, or being moved by the remonstrances of his council, ratified the treaty, and executed with great fidelity whatever he had stipulated to perform. The Duke of Savoy repaired with a numerous retinue to Paris, in order to celebrate his marriage with Henry's sister. The duke of Alva was sent to the same capital, at the head of a splendid embassy, to espouse Elizabeth in name of his master. They were received with extraordinary magnificence by the French court. Amidst the rejoicings and festivities on that occasion, Henry's days were cut short by a singular and tragical acci-

Death of
Henry.
July 10.

dent. His son, Francis II. a Prince under age, of a weak constitution, and of a mind still more feeble succeeded him. Soon after, Paul ended his violent and imperious Pontificate, at enmity with all the world, and disgusted even with his own nephews. They, persecuted by Philip, and deserted by the succeeding Pope, whom they had raised by their influence to the papal throne, were condemned to the punishment which their crimes and ambition had merited, and their death was as infamous as their lives had been criminal. Thus most of the personages, who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe, disappeared about the same time. A more known period of history opens at this æra; other actors enter upon the stage, with different views as well as different passions, new contests arose, and new schemes of ambition occupied and disquieted mankind.

UPON reviewing the transactions of any active period in the history of civilized nations, the changes which are accomplished appear wonderfully disproportioned to the efforts which have been exerted. Conquests are never very extensive or rapid, but among nations whose progress in improvement is extremely unequal. When Alexander the Great, at the head of a gallant

A general
review of
the whole
period.

1559.

BOOK XII.

BOOK XII. people, of simple manners, and formed to war by admirable military institutions, invaded a state sunk in luxury, and enervated by excessive refinement; when Genchizcan and Tamerlane, with their armies of hardy barbarians, poured in upon nations, enfeebled by the climate in which they lived, or by the arts and commerce which they cultivated, these conquerors, like a torrent, swept every thing before them, subduing kingdoms and provinces in as short a space of time as was requisite to march through them. But when nations are in a state similar to each other, and keep equal pace in their advances towards refinement, they are not exposed to the calamity of sudden conquests. Their acquisitions of knowledge, their progress in the art of war, their political sagacity and address, are nearly equal. The fate of states in this situation, depends not on a single battle. Their internal resources are many and various. Nor are they themselves alone interested in their own safety, or active in their own defence. Other states interpose, and balance any temporary advantage which either party may have acquired. After the fiercest and most lengthened contest, all the rival nations are exhausted, none are conquered. At length a peace is concluded, which re-instates each in possession of almost the same power and the same territories.

SUCH

SUCH was the state of Europe during the reign of Charles V. No Prince was so much superior to the rest in power, as to render his efforts irresistible, and his conquests easy. No nation had made progress in improvement so far beyond its neighbours, as to have acquired a very manifest pre-eminence. Each state derived some advantage, or was subject to some inconvenience, from its situation or its climate; each was distinguished by something peculiar in the genius of its people, or the constitution of its government. But the advantages possessed by one state, were counterbalanced by circumstances favourable to others; and this prevented any from attaining such superiority as might have been fatal to all. The nations of Europe in that age, as in the present, were like one great family; there were some features common to all, which fixed a resemblance; there were certain peculiarities conspicuous in each, which marked a distinction. But there was not among them that wide diversity of character and of genius which, in almost every period of history, hath exalted the Europeans above the inhabitants of the other quarters of the globe, and seems to have destined the one to rule, and the other to obey.

BOOK XII.
The nations
of Europe in
a similar
state during
the six-
teenth cen-
tury.

BUT though the near resemblance and equality in improvement among the different nations

BOOK XII. of Europe, prevented the reign of Charles V. from being distinguished by such sudden and extensive conquests as occur in some other periods of history, yet, during the course of his administration, all the considerable states in Europe suffered a remarkable change in their political situation, and felt the influence of events, which have not hitherto spent their force, but still continue to operate in a greater or in a less degree. It was during his reign, and in consequence of the perpetual efforts to which his enterprising ambition roused him, that the different kingdoms of Europe acquired internal vigour; that they discerned the resources of which they were possessed; that they came both to feel their own strength, and to know how to render it formidable to others. It was during his reign, too, that the different kingdoms of Europe, formerly single and disjointed, became so thoroughly acquainted, and so intimately connected with each other, as to form one great political system, in which each took a station, wherein it has remained since that time with less variation than could have been expected after the events of two active centuries.

THE progress, however, and acquisitions of the house of Austria, were not only greater than those of any other power, but more discernible

The progress of the house of Austria,

and conspicuous. I have already enumerated BOOK XII.
the vast territories which descended to Charles from his Austrian, Burgundian, and Spanish ancestors²⁸. To these he himself added the Imperial dignity; and, as if all this had been too little, the bounds of the habitable globe seemed to be extended, and a new world was subjected to his command. Upon his resignation, the Burgundian provinces, and the Spanish kingdoms with their dependencies, both in the old and new worlds, devolved to Philip. But Charles transmitted his dominions to his son, in a condition very different from that in which he had received them. They were augmented by the accession of new provinces; they were habituated to obey an administration which was no less vigorous than steady; they were accustomed to expensive and persevering efforts, which, though necessary in the contests between civilized nations, had been little known in Europe before the sixteenth century. The provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, which he acquired by purchase from their former proprietors, and the dutchy of Gueldres, of which he made himself master, partly by force of arms, partly by the arts of negociation, were additions of great value to his Burgundian dominions. Ferdinand and Isabella had transmitted to him all

²⁸ Vol. ii. p. 2.

Book XII. the provinces of Spain, from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal; but as he maintained a perpetual peace with that kingdom, amidst the various efforts of his enterprising ambition, he made no acquisition of territory in that quarter.

Particularly
in Spain.

CHARLES had gained, however, a vast accession of power in this part of his dominions. By his success in the war with the commons of Castile, he exalted the regal prerogative upon the ruins of the privileges which formerly belonged to the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued, he reduced its authority and jurisdiction to nothing, and modelled it in such a manner, that it became rather a junto of the servants of the crown, than an assembly of the representatives of the people. One member of the constitution being thus lopped of, it was impossible but that the other must feel the stroke, and suffer by it. The suppression of the popular power rendered the aristocratical less formidable. The grandees, prompted by the warlike spirit of the age, or allured by the honours which they enjoyed in a court, exhausted their fortunes in military service, or in attending on the person of their Prince. They did not dread, perhaps did not observe, the dangerous progress of the royal au-

thority, which leaving them the vain distinction Book XII.
of being covered in presence of their sovereign,
stripped them, by degrees, of that real power
which they possessed while they formed one body,
and acted in concert with the people. Charles's
success in abolishing the privileges of the com-
mons, and in breaking the power of the nobles
of Castile, encouraged Philip to invade the liber-
ties of Aragon, which were still more extensive.
The Castilians, accustomed to subjection them-
selves, assisted in imposing the yoke on their
more happy and independent neighbours. The
will of the sovereign became the supreme law
in all the kingdoms of Spain; and princes who
were not checked in forming their plans by the
jealousy of the people, nor controlled in exe-
cuting them by the power of the nobles, could
both aim at great objects, and call forth the
whole strength of the monarchy in order to
attain them.

As Charles, by extending the regal preroga- Also in
tive, rendered the monarchs of Spain masters at other parts
home, he added new dignity and power to their of Europe.
crown by his foreign acquisitions. He secured
to Spain the quiet possession of the kingdom of
Naples, which Ferdinand had usurped by fraud,
and held with difficulty. He united the dutchy
of Milan, one of the most fertile and populous

BOOK XII. Italian provinces to the Spanish crown; and left his successors, even without taking their other territories into the account, the most considerable Princes in Italy, which had been long the theatre of contention to the great powers of Europe, and in which they had struggled with emulation to obtain the superiority. When the French in conformity to the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, withdrew their forces out of Italy, and finally relinquished all their schemes of conquest on that side of the Alps, the Spanish dominions then rose in importance, and enabled their Kings, as long as the monarchy retained any degree of vigour, to preserve the chief sway in all the transactions of that country. But whatever accession either of interior authority or of foreign dominion Charles gained for the monarchs of Spain in Europe, it was inconsiderable when compared with his acquisitions in the new world. He added, there, not provinces, but empires to his crown. He conquered territories of such immense extent; he discovered such inexhaustible veins of wealth, and opened such boundless prospects of every kind, as must have roused his successor, and have called him forth to action, though his ambition had been much less ardent than Philip's, and must have rendered him not only enterprizing but formidable.

WHILE the elder branch of the Austrian family rose to such pre-eminence in Spain, the younger, of which Ferdinand was the head, grew to be considerable in Germany. The ancient hereditary dominions of the house of Austria in Germany, united to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, which Ferdinand had acquired by marriage, formed a respectable power; and when the Imperial dignity was added to these, Ferdinand possessed territories more extensive than had belonged to any Prince, Charles V. excepted, who had been at the head of the Empire during several ages. Fortunately for Europe, the disgust which Philip conceived on account of Ferdinand's refusing to relinquish the Imperial crown in his favour, not only prevented for some time the separate members of the house of Austria from acting in concert, but occasioned a visible alienation and rivalry. By degrees, however, regard to the interest of their family extinguished this impolitical animosity. The confidence which was natural returned; the aggrandizing of the house of Austria became the common object of all their schemes; they gave and received assistance alternately towards the execution of them; and each derived consideration and importance from the other's success. A family so great and so aspiring, became the general object of jealousy and terror.

Book XII.
Progress of
the German
branch of
the house
of Austria.

BOOK XII. All the power, as well as policy, of Europe were exerted during a century, in order to check and humble it. Nothing can give a more striking idea of the ascendant which it had acquired, and of the terror which it had inspired, than that after its vigour was spent with extraordinary exertions of its strength, after Spain was become only the shadow of a great name, and its monarchs were sunk into debility and dotage, the house of Austria still continued to be formidable. The nations of Europe had so often felt its superior power, and had been so constantly employed in guarding against it, that the dread of it became a kind of political habit, the influence of which remained when the causes, which had formed it, ceased to exist.

Acquisitions
of the Kings
of France
during the
reign of
Charles V.

While the house of Austria went on with such success in enlarging its dominions, France made no considerable acquisition of new territory. All its schemes of conquest in Italy had proved abortive; it had hitherto obtained no establishment of consequence in the new world; and after the continued and vigorous efforts of four successive reigns, the confines of the kingdom were much the same as Louis XI. had left them. But though France made not such large strides towards dominion as the house of Austria, it continued to advance by steps which were

more secure, because they were gradual and less Book XII.
observed. The conquest of Calais put it out of the power of the English to invade France but at their utmost peril, and delivered the French from the dread of their ancient enemies, who, previous to that event, could at any time penetrate into the kingdom by that avenue, and thereby retard or defeat the execution of their best concerted enterprizes against any foreign power. The important acquisition of Metz, covered that part of their frontier which formerly was most feeble, and lay most exposed to insult. France, from the time of its obtaining these additional securities against external invasion, must be deemed the most powerful kingdom in Europe, and is more fortunately situated than any on the Continent either for conquest or defence. From the confines of Artois to the bottom of the Pyrenees, and from the British channel to the frontiers of Savoy and the coast of the Mediterranean, its territories lay compact and unmingled with those of any other power. Several of the considerable provinces, which had contracted a spirit of independence by their having been long subject to the great vassals of the crown, who were often at variance or at war with their master, were now accustomed to recognize and to obey one sovereign. As they became members of the

BOOK XII. same monarchy, they assumed the sentiments of that body into which they were incorporated, and co-operated with zeal towards promoting its interest and honour. The power and influence wrested from the nobles were seized by the crown. The people were not admitted to share in these spoils; they gained no new privilege; they acquired no additional weight in the legislature. It was not for the sake of the people, but in order to extend their own prerogative, that the monarchs of France had laboured to humble their great vassals. Satisfied with having brought them under entire subjection to the crown, they discovered no solicitude to free the people from their ancient dependence on the nobles of whom they held.

Enables
them to as-
sume an
higher sta-
tion among
the powers
of Europe.

A MONARCH, at the head of a kingdom thus united at home and secure from abroad, was entitled to form great designs, because he felt himself in a condition to execute them. The foreign wars which had continued with little interruption from the accession of Charles VIII. had not only cherished and augmented the martial genius of the nation, but by inuring the troops during the course of long service to the fatigues of war, and accustoming them to obedience, had added the force of discipline to their natural ardour. A gallant and active body

of nobles, who considered themselves as idle and Book XII.
useless, unless when they were in the field; who
were hardly acquainted with any pastime or
exercise but what was military; and who knew
no road to power, or fame, or wealth, but war,
would not have suffered their sovereign to re-
main long in inaction. The people, little ac-
quainted with the arts of peace, and always
ready to take arms at the command of their
superiors, were accustomed by the vast expence
of long wars, carried on in distinct countries,
to bear impositions, which, however inconfi-
derable they may seem if estimated by the exor-
bitant rate of modern exactions, appear im-
mense when compared with the sums levied in
France, or in any other country of Europe,
previous to the reign of Louis XI. As all the
members of which the state was composed were
thus impatient for action, and capable of great
efforts, the schemes and operations of France
must have been no less formidable to Europe
than those of Spain. The superior advantages
of its situation, the contiguity and compactness
of its territories, together with the peculiar
state of its political constitution at that juncture,
must have rendered its enterprizes still more
alarming and more decisive. The King pos-
sessed such a degree of power as gave him the
entire command of his subjects; the people

BOOK XII. were strangers to those occupations and habits of life which render men averse to war, or unfit for it; and the nobles, though reduced to the subordination necessary in a regular government, still retained the high undaunted spirit which was the effect of their ancient independence. The vigour of the Feudal times remained, their anarchy was at an end; and the Kings of France could avail themselves of the martial ardour which that singular institution had kindled or kept alive, without being exposed to any of the dangers or inconveniencies which are inseparable from it when in entire force.

Circumstances which prevented the immediate effects of their power.

A KINGDOM in such a state is, perhaps, capable of greater military efforts than at any other period in its progress. But how formidable soever or fatal to the other nations of Europe the power of such a monarchy might have been, the civil wars which broke out in France saved them at that juncture from feeling its effects. These wars, of which religion was the pretext and ambition the cause, wherein great abilities were displayed by the leaders of the different factions, and little conduct or firmness were manifested by the crown under a succession of weak Princes, kept France occupied and embroiled for half a century. During these com-

motions the internal strength of the kingdom Book XII. was much wasted, and such a spirit of anarchy was spread among the nobles, to whom rebellion was familiar, and the restraint of laws unknown, that a considerable interval became requisite not only for recruiting the internal vigour of the nation, but for re-establishing the authority of the Prince; so that it was long before France could turn her whole attention towards foreign transactions, or act with her proper force in foreign wars. It was long before she rose to that ascendant in Europe which she has maintained since the administration of Cardinal Richelieu, and which the situation as well as extent of the kingdom, the nature of her government, together with the character of her people, entitle her to maintain.

WHILE the kingdoms on the continent grew into power and consequence, England likewise made considerable progress towards regular government and interior strength. Henry VIII. probably without intention, and certainly without any consistent plan, of which his nature was incapable, pursued the scheme of depressing the nobility, which the policy of his father Henry VII. had begun. The pride and caprice of his temper led him to employ chiefly new men in the administration of affairs, because he

Progress of England with respect to its interior state.

BOOK XII. found them most obsequious, or least scrupulous; and he not only conferred on them such plenitude of power, but exalted them to such pre-eminence in dignity, as mortified and degraded the ancient nobility. By the alienation or sale of the church-lands, which were dissipated with a profusion not inferior to the rapaciousness with which they had been seized, as well as by the privilege granted to the ancient landholders of selling their estates, or disposing of them by will, an immense property, formerly locked up, was brought into circulation. This put the spirit of industry and commerce in motion, and gave it some considerable degree of vigour. The road to power and to opulence became open to persons of every condition. A sudden and excessive flow of wealth from the West-Indies proved fatal to industry in Spain; a moderate accession in England to the sum in circulation gave life to commerce, awakened the ingenuity of the nation, and excited it to useful enterprize. In France, what the nobles lost, the crown gained. In England, the commons were gainers as well as the King. Power and influence accompanied of course the property which they acquired. They rose to consideration among their fellow-subjects; they began to feel their own importance; and extending their influence in the legislative body

gradually, and often when neither they them-
 selves nor others foresaw all the effect of their
 claims and pretensions, they at last attained that
 high authority, to which the British constitution
 is indebted for the existence, and must owe the
 preservation of its liberty. At the same time
 that the English constitution advanced towards
 perfection, several circumstances brought on a
 change in the ancient system with respect to
 foreign powers, and introduced another more
 beneficial to the nation. As soon as Henry
 disclaimed the supremacy of the Papal See, and
 broke off all connexion with the Papal court,
 considerable sums were saved to the nation, of
 which it had been annually drained, by remit-
 tances to Rome for dispensations and indul-
 gences, by the expence of pilgrimages into
 foreign countries²⁹, or by payment of annates,
 first fruits, and a thousand other taxes which
 that artful and rapacious court levied on the
 credulity of mankind. The exercise of a juris-
 diction different from the civil power, and

²⁹ The loss which the nation sustained by most of these
 articles is obvious, and must have been great. Even that
 by pilgrimages was not inconsiderable. In the year 1428,
 licence was obtained by no fewer than 916 persons to visit
 the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain. Rymer,
 vol. x. In 1434, the number of pilgrims to the same
 place was 2460. Ibid. In 1445, they were 2100, vol. xi.

BOOK XII. claiming not only to be independent but superior to it, a wild solecism in government, apt not only to perplex and disquiet weak minds, but tending directly to disturb society, was finally abolished. Government became more simple as well as more respectable, when no rank or character exempted any person from being amenable to the same courts, from being tried by the same judges, and from being acquitted or condemned by the same laws.

With respect to the affairs of the continent.

By the loss of Calais the English were excluded from the continent. All schemes for invading France became of course as chimerical as they had formerly been pernicious. The views of the English were confined, first by necessity, and afterwards from choice, within their own island. That rage for conquest which had possessed the nation during many centuries, and wasted its strength in perpetual and fruitless wars, ceased at length. Those active spirits which had known and followed no profession but war, sought for occupation in the arts of peace, and their country benefited as much by the one as it had suffered by the other. The nation, exhausted by frequent expeditions to the continent, recruited, and acquired new strength; and when roused by any extraordinary exigency to take part in foreign operations,

tions, the vigour of its efforts were proportionally great, because they were only occasional and of a short continuance. BOOK XII.

THE same principle which had led England to adopt this new system with regard to the powers on the continent, occasioned a change in its plan of conduct with respect to Scotland, the only foreign state, with which, on account of its situation in the same island, the English had such a close connexion as demanded their perpetual attention. Instead of prosecuting the ancient scheme of conquering that kingdom, which the nature of the country, defended by a brave and hardy people, rendered dangerous if not impracticable, it appeared more eligible to endeavour at obtaining such influence in Scotland as might exempt England from any danger or disquiet from that quarter. The national poverty of the Scots, together with the violence and animosity of their factions, rendered the execution of this plan easy to a people far superior to them in wealth. Their popular leaders were gained; the ministers and favourites of the crown were corrupted, and such absolute direction of their councils acquired, as rendered the operations of the one kingdom dependent in a great measure on the sovereign of the other. Such perfect external security added

With re-
spect to
Scotland.

BOOK XII. to the interior advantages which England now possessed, must soon have raised it to new consideration and importance; the long reign of Elizabeth, equally conspicuous for wisdom, for steadiness, and for vigour, accelerated its progress, and carried it with greater rapidity towards that elevated station which it hath since held among the powers of Europe.

Changes in the political state of the secondary powers in Europe.

DURING the period in which the political state of the great kingdoms underwent such changes, revolutions of considerable importance happened in that of the secondary or inferior powers. Those in the papal court are most obvious, and of most extensive consequence.

The most considerable revolution of the sixteenth century in the court of Rome.

IN the Preliminary Book, I have mentioned the rise of that spiritual jurisdiction which the Popes claim as Vicars of Jesus Christ, and have traced the progress of that authority which they possess as temporal Princes³⁰. There was nothing previous to the reign of Charles V. that tended to circumscribe or to moderate their authority, but science and philosophy, which began to revive and to be cultivated. The progress of these, however, was still inconsiderable; they always operate slowly; and it is long before their influence reaches the people,

³⁰ Vol. i. p. 149, &c.

or can produce any sensible effect upon them. BOOK XII.
 They may perhaps gradually, and in a long course of years, undermine and shake an established system of false religion, but there is no instance of their having overturned one. The battery is too feeble to demolish those fabricks which superstition raises on deep foundations, and can strengthen with the most consummate art.

LUTHER had attacked the Papal supremacy with other weapons, and with an impetuosity more formidable. The time and manner of his attack concurred with a multitude of circumstances, which have been explained, in giving him immediate success. The charm which had bound mankind for so many ages was broken at once. The human mind, which had continued long as tame and passive, as if it had been formed to believe whatever was taught, and to bear whatever was imposed, roused of a sudden, and became inquisitive, mutinous, and disdainful of the yoke to which it had hitherto submitted. That wonderful ferment and agitation of mind, which, at this distance of time, appears unaccountable, or is condemned as extravagant, was so general, that it must have been excited by causes which were natural and of powerful efficacy. The kingdoms of Den-

The general revolt against the doctrines of the church of Rome, and the power of the Popes,

Book XII. mark, Sweden, England and Scotland, and almost one half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the Pope, abolished his jurisdiction within their territories, and gave the sanction of law to modes of discipline and systems of doctrine which were not only independent of his power, but hostile to it. Nor was this spirit of innovation confined to those countries which openly revolted from the Pope; it spread through all Europe, and broke out in every part of it with various degrees of violence. It penetrated early into France, and made progress apace. In that kingdom, the number of converts to the opinions of the Reformers was so great, their zeal so enterprising, and the abilities of their leaders so distinguished, that they soon ventured to contend for superiority with the established church, and were sometimes on the point of obtaining it. In all the provinces of Germany which continued to acknowledge the Papal supremacy, as well as in the Low Countries, the Protestant doctrines were secretly taught, and had gained so many proselytes, that they were ripe for revolt, and were restrained merely by the dread of their rulers from imitating the example of their neighbours, and asserting their independence. Even in Spain and in Italy, symptoms of the same disposition to shake off the yoke appeared. The preten-

fions of the Pope to infallible knowledge and supreme power were treated by many persons of eminent learning and abilities with such scorn, or impugned with such vehemence, that the most vigilant attention of the civil magistrate, the highest strains of pontifical authority, and all the rigour of inquisitorial jurisdiction were requisite to check and extinguish it. Book XII.

THE defection of so many opulent and powerful kingdoms from the Papal See, was a fatal blow to its grandeur and power. It abridged the dominions of the Popes in extent, it diminished their revenues, and left them fewer rewards to bestow on the ecclesiasticks of various denominations, attached to them by vows of obedience as well as by ties of interest, and whom they employed as instruments to establish or support their usurpations in every part of Europe. The countries too which now disclaimed their authority, were those which formerly had been most devoted to it. The empire of superstition differs from every other species of dominion; its power is often greatest, and most implicitly obeyed in the provinces most remote from the seat of government; while such as are situated nearer to that, are more apt to discern the artifices by which it is upheld, or the impostures on which it is founded. The personal frailties or vices of the Popes, the

This abridg-
ed the extent
of the
Pope's do-
minions,

BOOK XII. errors as well as corruption of their administration, the ambition, venality, and deceit which reigned in their courts, fell immediately under the observation of the Italians, and could not fail of diminishing that respect which begets submission. But in Germany, England, and the more remote countries, these were either altogether unknown, or being only known by report, made a slighter impression. Their veneration for the Papal dignity increased with their distance from Rome; and that, added to their gross ignorance, rendered them equally credulous and passive. In tracing the progress of the Papal domination, the boldest and most successful instances of encroachment are to be found in Germany and other countries distant from Italy. In these its impositions were heaviest, and its exactions the most rapacious; so that in estimating the diminution of power which the court of Rome suffered in consequence of the Reformation, not only the number but the character of the people who revolted, not only the great extent of territory, but the extraordinary obsequiousness of the subjects which it lost, must be taken into the account.

and obliged
them to
change the
spirit of
their go-
vernment.

NOR was it only by this defection of so many kingdoms and states which the Reformation occasioned, that it contributed to diminish the power of the Roman Pontiffs. It obliged them

to adopt a different system of conduct towards the nations which still continued to recognise their jurisdiction, and to govern them by new maxims and with a milder spirit. The Reformation taught them, by a fatal example, what they seem not before to have apprehended, that the credulity and patience of mankind might be overburdened and exhausted. They became afraid of venturing upon any such exertion of their authority as might alarm or exasperate their subjects, and excite them to a new revolt. They saw a rival church established in many countries of Europe, the members of which were on the watch to observe any errors in their administration, and eager to expose them. They were sensible that the opinions adverse to their power and usurpations were not confined to their enemies alone, but had spread even among the people who still adhered to them. Upon all these accounts, it was no longer possible to lead or to govern their flock in the same manner as in those dark and quiet ages, when faith was implicit, when submission was unreserved, and all tamely followed and obeyed the voice of their shepherd. From the æra of the Reformation, the Popes have ruled rather by address and management than by authority. The style of their decrees is the same, but the effect of them is very different. Those Bulls and Interdicts which, before the reformation, made

BOOK XII. the greatest Princes tremble, have since that period been disregarded or despised by the most inconsiderable. Those bold decisions and acts of jurisdiction which, during many ages, not only passed uncensured, but were revered as the awards of a sacred tribunal, would, since Luther's appearance, be treated by one part of Europe as the effect of folly or arrogance, and be detested by the other as impious and unjust. The Popes, in their administration, have been obliged not only to accommodate themselves to the notions of their adherents, but to pay some regard to the prejudices of their enemies. They seldom venture to claim new powers, or even to insist obstinately on their ancient prerogatives, lest they should irritate the former; they carefully avoid every measure that may either excite the indignation or draw on them the derision of the latter. The policy of the court of Rome has become as cautious, circumspect, and timid, as it was once adventurous and violent; and though their pretensions to infallibility, on which all their authority is founded, does not allow them to renounce any jurisdiction which they have at any time claimed or exercised, they find it expedient to suffer many of their prerogatives to lie dormant, and not to expose themselves to the risque of losing that remainder of power which they still enjoy by ill-

timed attempts towards reviving obsolete pre- Book XII.
tensions. Before the sixteenth century, the
Popes were the movers and directors in every
considerable enterprize; they were at the head of
every great alliance; and being considered as
arbiters in the affairs of Christendom, the court
of Rome was the center of political negociation
and intrigue. From that time, the greatest operations
in Europe have been carried on independent
of them; they have sunk almost to a
level with the other petty Princes of Italy; they
continue to claim, though they dare not exercise,
the same spiritual jurisdiction, but hardly retain
any shadow of the temporal power which they
anciently possessed.

BUT how fatal soever the Reformation may The Reformation contributed to improve the church both in science and morals.
have been to the power of the Popes, it contributed
to improve the church of Rome both in
science and in morals. The desire of equalling
the reformers in those talents which had pro-
cured them respect; the necessity of acquiring
the knowledge requisite for defending their own
tenets, or refuting the arguments of their oppo-
nents, together with the emulation natural be-
tween two rival churches, engaged the Roman
Catholick clergy to apply themselves to the study
of useful science, which they cultivated with
such assiduity and success, that they have gra-

BOOK XII. dually become as eminent in literature, as they were in some periods infamous for ignorance. The same principle occasioned a change no less considerable in the morals of the Romish clergy. Various causes which have formerly been enumerated, had concurred in introducing great irregularity, and even dissolution of manners among the popish clergy. Luther and his adherents began their attack on the church with such vehement invectives against these, that, in order to remove the scandal, and silence their declamations, greater decency of conduct became necessary. The Reformers themselves were so eminent not only for the purity but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the Roman Catholick Clergy must have soon lost all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform in some measure to their standard. They knew that all their actions fell under the severe inspection of the Protestants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to observe every vice, or even impropriety in their conduct; to censure them without indulgence, and to expose them without mercy. This rendered them, of course, not only cautious to avoid such enormities as might give offence, but studious to acquire the virtues which might merit praise. In Spain and Portugal, where the

tyrannical jurisdiction of the Inquisition crushed Book XII. the Protestant faith as soon as it appeared, the spirit of Popery continues invariable; science has made small progress, and the character of ecclesiasticks has undergone little change. But in those countries where the members of the two churches have mingled freely with each other, or have carried on any considerable intercourse, either commercial or literary, an extraordinary alteration in the ideas as well as in the morals of the Popish ecclesiasticks, is manifest. In France, the manners of the dignitaries and secular clergy have become decent and exemplary in an high degree. Many of them have been distinguished for all the accomplishments and virtues which can adorn their profession; and differ greatly from their predecessors before the Reformation, both in their maxims and in their conduct.

NOR has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by the inferior members of the Roman Catholick Church; it has extended to the See of Rome, to the sovereign Pontiffs themselves. Violations of decorum, and even trespasses against morality, which passed without censure in those ages, when neither the power of the Popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds; when

The effects of it extend to the character of the Popes themselves.

BOOK XII. there was no hostile eye to observe the errors in their conduct, and no adversaries zealous to inveigh against them; would be liable now to the severest animadversion, and excite general indignation or horror. Instead of rivalling the courts of temporal Princes in gaiety, and surpassing them in licentiousness, the Popes have studied to assume manners more severe and more suitable to their ecclesiastical character. The chair of St. Peter hath not been polluted, during two centuries, by any Pontiff that resembled Alexander VI. or several of his predecessors, who were a disgrace to religion and to human nature. Throughout this long succession of Popes, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is observable. Many of them have been conspicuous for the virtues becoming their high station; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors. Thus the beneficial influences of the Reformation have been more extensive than they appear on a superficial view; and this great division in the Christian church hath contributed, in some measure, to increase purity of manners, to diffuse science, and to inspire humanity. History recites such a number of shocking events, occasioned by religious dissensions, that it must

afford peculiar satisfaction to trace any one salutary or beneficial effect to that source, from which so many fatal calamities have flowed. Book XII.

THE republick of Venice which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had appeared so formidable, that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined gradually from its ancient power and splendour. The Venetians not only lost a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the state were exhausted by their extraordinary and long continued efforts in their own defence; and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay, without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal consequences to their republick, which the sagacity of the Venetian senate foresaw on the first discovery of a passage to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portuguese from establishing themselves in the East-Indies, not only by exciting the Soldans of Egypt and the Ottoman monarchs to turn their arms against such dangerous intruders, but by affording secret aid to the Infidels in order to insure their success³¹, proved ineffectual.

³¹ Freher. Script. Rer. German. vol. ii. 529.

BOOK XII. The activity and valour of the Portuguese surmounted every obstacle, and obtained such firm footing in that fertile country, as secured to them large possessions, together with influence still more extensive. Lisbon, instead of Venice, became the staple for the precious commodities of the East. The Venetians, after having possessed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almost any share in it. The discoveries of the Spaniards in the western world, proved no less fatal to inferior branches of their commerce. The original defects which were formerly pointed out in the constitution of the Venetian republick continued, and the disadvantages with which it undertook any great enterprise, increased rather than diminished. The sources from which it derived its extraordinary riches and power being dried up, the interior vigour of the state declined, and of course, its external operations became less formidable. Long before the middle of the sixteenth century, Venice ceased to be one of the principal powers in Europe and dwindled into a secondary and subaltern state. But as the senate had the address to conceal its diminution of power, under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no rash effort that could discover its impotence; as the symptoms of political decay

in states are not soon observed, and are seldom Book XII.
 so apparent to their neighbours as to occasion
 any sudden alteration in their conduct towards
 them, Venice continued long to be considered
 and respected. She was treated not according
 to her present condition, but according to the
 rank which she had formerly held. Charles V.
 as well as the monarchs of France his rivals,
 courted her assistance with emulation and soli-
 citude in all their enterprizes. Even down to
 the close of the century, Venice remained not
 only an object of attention, but a considerable
 seat of political negociation and intrigue.

THAT authority which the first Cosmo di Of Tuscany.
 Medici, and Lawrence, his grandson, had ac-
 quired in the republick of Florence by their
 beneficence and abilities, inspired their descen-
 dants with the ambition of usurping the sove-
 reignty in their country, and paved their way
 towards it. Charles placed Alexander di Me-
 dici at the head of the republick, and to the A. D. 1550.
 natural interest and power of the family added
 the weight as well as credit of the Imperial
 protection. Of these, his successor Cosmo,
 surnamed the Great, availed himself; and esta-
 blishing his supreme authority on the ruins of
 the ancient republican constitution, he trans-
 mitted that, together with the title of Grand

BOOK XII. Duke of Tuscany, to his descendants. Their dominions were composed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Pisa, and Siena, and formed one of the most respectable of the Italian states.

Of the
dukes of
Savoy.

THE Dukes of Savoy, during the former part of the sixteenth century, possessed territories which were not considerable either for extent or value; and the French, having seized the greater part of them, obliged the reigning Duke to retire for safety to the strong fortrefs of Nice, where he shut himself up for several years; while his son, the Prince of Piedmont, endeavoured to better his fortune, by serving as an adventurer in the armies of Spain. The peace of Cateau-Cambresis restored to him his paternal dominions. As these are environed on every hand by powerful neighbours, all whose motions the Dukes of Savoy must observe with the greatest attention, in order not only to guard against the danger of being surpris'd and overpowered, but that they may chuse their side with discernment in those quarrels wherein it is impossible for them to avoid taking part, this peculiarity in their situation seems to have had no inconsiderable influence on their character. By rousing them to perpetual attention, by keeping their ingenuity always on the stretch,
and

and engaging them in almost continual action, BOOK XII.
it hath formed a race of Princes more sagacious
in discovering their true interest, more decisive
in their resolutions, and more dexterous in avail-
ing themselves of every occurrence which pre-
sented itself, than any perhaps that can be singled
out in the history of mankind. By gradual ac-
quisitions the Dukes of Savoy have added to
their territories as well as to their own import-
ance; and aspiring at length to regal dignity,
which they obtained about half a century ago,
they hold no inconsiderable rank among the
monarchs of Europe.

THE territories which now form the republick Of the
of the United Netherlands, were lost during the United
first part of the sixteenth century, among the Provinces.
numerous provinces subject to the house of
Austria; and were then so inconsiderable, that
hardly one opportunity of mentioning them hath
occurred in all the busy period of this history.
But soon after the peace of Cateau Cambresis,
the violent and bigoted maxims of Philip's go-
vernment, carried into execution with unrelent-
ing rigour by the Duke of Alva, exasperated
the free people of the Low Countries to such a
degree, that they threw off the Spanish yoke,
and asserted their ancient liberties and laws.
These they defended with a persevering valour,

BOOK XII. which occupied the arms of Spain during half a century, exhausted the vigour, ruined the reputation of that monarchy, and at last constrained their ancient masters to recognise and to treat with them as a free independent state. This state, founded on liberty, and reared by industry and œconomy, had grown into reputation, even while struggling for its existence. But when peace and security allowed it to enlarge its views, and to extend its commerce, it rose to be one of the most respectable as well as enterprizing powers in Europe.

THE transactions of the kingdoms in the North of Europe, have been seldom attended to in the course of this history.

Of Russia. RUSSIA remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the present century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the rest of Europe.

Of Denmark and Sweden. IN Denmark and Sweden, during the reign of Charles V. great revolutions happened in their constitutions, civil as well as ecclesiastical. In the former kingdom, a tyrant being degraded from the throne and expelled the country,

a new Prince was called by the voice of the BOOK XII. people to assume the reins of government. In the latter, a fierce people, roused to arms by injuries and oppression, shook off the Danish yoke, and conferred the regal dignity on its deliverer Gustavus Ericson, who had all the virtues of a hero and of a patriot. Denmark, exhausted by foreign wars, or weakened by the dissensions between the King and the nobles, became incapable of such efforts as were requisite in order to recover the ascendant which it had long possessed in the North of Europe. Sweden, as soon as it was freed from the dominion of strangers, began to recruit its strength, and acquired in a short time such interior vigour, that it became the first kingdom in the North. Early in the subsequent century, it rose to such a high rank among the powers of Europe, that it had the chief merit in forming as well as conducting that powerful league, which protected not only the Protestant religion, but the liberties of Germany against the bigotry and ambition of the house of Austria.

INDEX

APPENDIX

A new Prince was called by the voice of the Boer men
to assume the reins of government. In
the name of a free people, he sought to raise the
country and establish a new order of things.
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Boer men, who had all the
virtues of a hero and of a patriot. He sought
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of Germany against the bigotry and ambi-
tion of the house of Austria.

INDEX

I N D E X

N. B. The Roman Numerals direct to the Volume, and the Figures to the Page.

A.

A**BSOLUTION**, the form of that used by Father Tetzels in Germany, II. 117.

Adorni, the faction of, assists the Imperial general Colonna in the reduction of Genoa, II. 215.

Adrian of Utrecht, made preceptor to Charles V. under William de Croy, lord of Chievres, II. 29. His character, 30. Sent by Charles with power to assume, the regency of Castile on the death of his grandfather 39. His claim admitted by Cardinal Ximenes, and executed in conjunction, *ib.* Authorized by Charles to hold the Cortes of Valencia, which refuses to assemble before him, 91. Made viceroy of Castile on the departure of Charles for Germany, 95. His election remonstrated against by the Castilians, *ib.* Is chosen Pope, 211. Retrospect of his conduct in Spain during the absence of Charles, 227. Sends Ronquillo to reduce the Segovians, who repulse him, *ib.* Sends Fonseca to besiege the city, who is repulsed by the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, 228. Apologizes for Fonseca's conduct to the people, 230. Recals Fonseca, and dismisses his troops, *ib.* His authority disclaimed by the Holy Junta, 232. Deprived of power by them, 235. His ill reception on his arrival at Rome on being chosen to the Papacy, 269. Restores the territories acquired by his predecessor, 270. Labours to unite the contending powers of Europe, 271. Publishes a bull for a three years truce among them, 272.

I N D E X.

- Accedes to the league against the French King, *ib.* His death, 280. The sentiments and behaviour of the people on that occasion, *ib.* A retrospect of his conduct towards the Reformers, 296. His brief to the diet at Nuremberg, *ib.* Receives a list of grievances from the diet, 299. His conduct to the Reformers, how esteemed at Rome, 302.
- Africa*, the shocking devastations made there by the Vandals, I. 238. the Spanish troops sent by Cardinal Ximenes against Barbarossa, defeated there, II. 52.
- Aigues Mortes*, interview between the Emperor Charles and Francis, there, III. 163.
- Aix la Chapelle*, the Emperor Charles crowned there, II. 111. Ferdinand his brother crowned King of the Romans there, III. 57.
- Alanus*, his character of the clergy in his time, I. 279.
- Alarcon*, Don Ferdinand, Francis I. of France, taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, committed to his custody, II. 327. Conducts Francis to Spain, 340. Delivers up Francis in pursuance of the treaty of Madrid, 362. Is sent ambassador to Francis to require the fulfilment of his treaty, 382. Pope Clement VII. taken prisoner by the Imperialists, is committed to his custody, 408.
- Albany*, John Stuart, duke of, commands the French army sent by Francis I. to invade Naples, II. 320.
- Albert*, of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic Order, becomes a convert to the doctrines of Luther, II. 375. Obtains of Sigismund King of Poland the investiture of Prussia, erected into a duchy, 376. Is put under the ban of the Empire, *ib.* His family fixed in the inheritance of Prussia, *ib.* Commands a body of troops in behalf of Maurice of Saxony, but endeavours to assert an independency, IV. 89. Defeats and takes the Duke d'Aumale prisoner, and joins the Emperor at Metz, 118. Is condemned by the Imperial Chamber for his demands on the bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg, 130. A league formed against him, 132. Is defeated by Maurice, 133. Is again defeated by Henry of Brunswick, 135.

I N D E X.

- Is driven out of Germany, and dies in exile, *ib.* His territories restored to his collateral heirs, 136.
- Albert*, elector of Mentz, the publication of indulgences in Germany, committed to him, II. 116.
- Alexander VI.* Pope, remarks on the pontificate of, II. 149.
- Alexander di Medici.* See MEDICI.
- Alfred* the Great, his Complaint of the clergy, I. 279.
- Algiers*, how it was seized by Barbarossa, III. 98. Is seized by the brother of the same name, on the death of the former, 100. Is taken under the protection of the Porte, *ib.* Is governed by Hascen Aga in the absence of Barbarossa, 239. Is besieged by the Emperor Charles V. 243. Charles forced to re-imbark by bad weather, 248.
- Allodial* possession of land, explained, I. 256. How such possession became subject to military service, *ib.* Distinguished from beneficiary tenures, 257. How converted into feudal tenures, 265.
- Allodium*, the etymology of that word, I. 270.
- Alraschid*, brother of Muley Hascen King of Tunis, solicits the protection of Barbarossa against him, III. 102. His treacherous treatment by Barbarossa, *ib.*
- Alva*, Duke of, adheres to Ferdinand of Aragon, in his dispute with the Archduke Philip concerning the regency of Castile, II. 12. Forces the Dauphin to abandon the siege of Perpignan, III. 259. Presides at the court-martial which condemns the Elector of Saxony to death, 443. Detains the Landgrave prisoner by the Emperor's order, 456. Commands under the Emperor, the army destined against France, IV. 116. Is appointed commander in chief in Piedmont, 182. Enters the ecclesiastical territories and seizes the Campagna Romana, 250. Concludes a truce with the Pope, 251. Negotiates a peace between Philip and the Pope, with Cardinal Caraffa, 283. Goes to Rome to ask pardon of the Pope for his hostilities, 284. Is sent to Paris in the name of Philip to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, 334.

I N D E X.

Amerstorff, a nobleman of Holland, associated by Charles V. with Cardinal Ximenes, in the regency of Castile, II. 49.

Ammianus, his character of the Huns, I. 241, 247.

Amurath, Sultan, the body of Janizaries formed by him, I. 226.

Anabaptists, the origin of that sect deduced, III. 76. Their principal tenets, 77. Their settlement at Munster, 79. Character of their principal leaders, *ib.* They seize the city of Munster, 80. They establish a new form of government there, *ib.* Chuse Bocold King, 84. Their licentious practices, 85. A confederacy of the German Princes formed against them, 87. Are blockaded in Munster by the bishop, *ib.* The city taken, and great slaughter made of them, 89. Their King put to death, 90. Character of the sect since that period, *ib.* See *Matthias* and *Bocold*.

Anathema, form of that denounced against robbers during the middle ages, I. 398.

Angleria, his authority cited in proof of the extortions of the Flemish ministers of Charles V. II. 64.

Anhalt, Prince of, avows the opinions of Martin Luther, II. 295.

Annats to the court of Rome, what, II. 165.

Arabia, the ancient Greek philosophy cultivated there, while lost in Europe, I. 387, *Note* xxviii. The progress of philosophy from thence to Europe, 388.

Aragon, rise of the kingdom of, I. 175. Its union with Castile, *ib.* The constitution and form of its government, 180. The privileges of its Cortes, *ib.* Office and jurisdiction of the Justiza, 182. The regal power very confined, 183. Form of the allegiance sworn to the Kings of, *ib.* The power of the nobility to controul the regal power, 416. Their privilege of union taken away by Peter IV. *ib.* The establishment of the inquisition opposed there, 420. How Ferdinand became possessed of that kingdom, II. 2. The cortes of, acknowledges the Archduke Philip's title to the crown, 74. Ancient enmity between this

I N D E X

kingdom and Castile, 9. Navarre added to this crown by the arts of Ferdinand, 26. Arrival of Charles V. 65. The cortes not allowed to assemble in his name, 66. The refractory behaviour of the Aragonians, *ib.* They refuse restitution of the kingdom of Navarre, 67. Don John Lanuza appointed regent, on the departure of Charles for Germany, 95. Who composes the disturbances there, 265. The moderation of Charles towards the insurgents on his arrival in Spain, 268. See *Spain*.

Ardres, an interview there between Francis I. and Henry VIII. of England, II. 109.

Armies, standing, the rise of, traced, I. 111. By what means they became more general in Europe, 134.

Arms, the profession of, the most honourable in uncivilized nations, I. 80.

Ast, an account of the ancient Romish feast of, I. 284.

Assemblies, legislative, how formed, I. 43. General, of France, their power under the first race of Kings, I. 197. Under the second and third, 198. At what period they lost their legislative authority, 199.

Asturias, Charles son of Philip and Joanna, acknowledged Prince of, by the Cortes of Castile, II. 19.

Attila, King of the Huns, account of his reception of the Roman ambassadors, I. 235, *Note* iii. Some account of his conquest, 242.

Augsburgh, a diet called there by Charles V. III. 50. His public entry into that city, *ib.* The confession of faith named from this city, drawn up by Melancthon, *ib.* Resolute behaviour of the Protestant Princes at, 52. Its form of government violently altered, and rendered submissive to the Emperor, 492. The diet reassembled there, IV. 10. The diet takes part with the Emperor against the city of Magdeburgh, 20. Is seized by Maurice of Saxony, 73. Another diet at, opened by Ferdinand, 191. Cardinal Morone attends the diet as the Pope's nuncio, 193. Morone departs on the Pope's death, 195.

I N D E X.

Recess of the diet on the subject of religion, 200.
 Remarks on this recess, 206. The diet again assembled there, III. 467. Is intimidated by being surrounded with the Emperor's Spanish troops, *ib.* The Emperor re-establishes the Romish worship, in the churches of, *ib.* The diet, by the Emperor's order, petitions the Pope for the return of the council to Trent, 476. A system of theology laid before the diet by the Emperor, 482. The archbishop of Mentz declares, without authority, the diet's acceptance of it, 283.
Avila, an assembly of Castilian nobles there, solemnly try and depose Henry IV. their King, I. 179. A convention of the malecontents in Spain held there, II. 232. A confederacy termed the Holy Junta, formed there, *ib.* Which disclaims the authority of Adrian, 233. The Holy Junta removed to Tordesillas, 234. See *Junta*.
Austria, the house of, by whom founded, I. 212. By what means the house of, became so formidable in Germany, II. 411. The extraordinary acquisitions of the house of, in the person of the Emperor Charles V. IV. 339. 343.

B.

Baillis, in the old French law, their office explained, I. 371.
Balance of power, the first rise of, in Europe, I. 133. The progress of, 134.
Baltic, the first source of wealth, to the towns situated on that sea. I. 405.
Balley, M. his erroneous account of the education of Charles V. corrected, II. 30, *Note*. His account of the disastrous retreat of the Emperor Charles V. from his invasion of Provence, III. 148.
Barbarossa, Horuck, his rise to the kingdom of Algiers and Tunis, II. 52. Defeats the Spanish troops sent against him by Cardinal Ximenes, *ib.* His parentage, III. 97.

I N D E X.

Commences pirate with his brother Hayradin, *ib.* How he acquired possession of Algiers, 98. Infests the coasts of Spain, 99. Is reduced and killed by Comares the Spanish governor of Oran, *ib.*

Barbarossa, Hayradin, brother to the former of the same name, takes possession of Algiers on his brother's death, III. 100. Puts his dominions under the protection of the Grand Signior, *ib.* Obtains the command of the Turkish fleet, *ib.* His treacherous treatment of Alraschid, brother to the King of Tunis, 102. Seizes Tunis, 104. Extends his depredations by sea, *ib.* Prepares to resist the Emperor's armament against him, 166. Goletta and his fleet taken, 108. Is defeated by Charles, 110. Tunis taken 111. Makes a descent on Italy, III. 272. Burns Rheggio, *ib.* Besieges Nice in conjunction with the French, but is forced to retire, 273. Is dismissed by Francis. 288.

Barbary, a summary view of the revolutions of, III. 96. Its division into independent kingdoms, *ib.* Rise of the piratical States, 97. See *Barbarossa*.

Barcelona, its trade, riches, and privileges at the close of the fifteenth century, I. 424. The public entry of the Emperor Charles V. into that city as its count, III. 39. The treaties of Charles with the Italian States, published there, 43.

Barons, their independence, and mutual hostilities, under the feudal system, I. 19. How affected by the enfranchisement of cities, 41. Acquire a participation in legislative government, 43. Their private wars for redress of personal injuries, 52. Methods employed to abolish these contentions, 54. Origin of their supreme and independent jurisdiction, 68. The bad effects resulting from these privileges, 69. The steps taken by Princes to reduce their court, 71. How obliged to relinquish their judicial prerogatives, 81. Of Italy, subjected to municipal laws; 396, *Note xv.* Their right of territorial jurisdiction explained, 364. Their emoluments from causes decided in their courts, 366.

I N D E X

- Bayard**, chevalier, his character, II. 145. His gallant defence of Mezieres, besieged by the Imperialists, *ib.* Obliges them to raise the siege, *ib.* His noble behaviour at his death, 191. His respectful funeral, 292.
- Benefices**, under the feudal system, a history of, I. 260. When they became hereditary, 263.
- Bible**, a translation of, undertaken by Martin Luther, and its effects in opening the eyes of the people, II. 294.
- Bicocca**, battle of, between Colonna, and Marechal Lautrec, II. 213.
- Bocold** or Beukels, John, a journeyman taylor, becomes a leader of the anabaptists, at Munster, III. 79. Succeeds Matthias in the direction of their affairs, 83. His enthusiastic extravagances, *ib.* Is chosen King, 84. Marries fourteen wives, 85. Beheads one of them, 88. Is put to a cruel death at the taking of Munster, 90. See *Anabaptists*.
- Bohemia**, the archduke Ferdinand chosen King of, II. 410. Ferdinand encroaches on the liberties of the Bohemians, III. 463. The Reformation introduced by John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, 464. Raise an army to no purpose, *ib.* Is closely confined in the citadel of Mechlin, IV. 25.
- Bologna**, an interview between the Emperor Charles V. and Pope Clement VII. there, III. 39. Another meeting between them there, 64.
- Bonnivet**, admiral of France, appointed to command the invasion of Milan, II. 280. His character, *ib.* Enables Colonna to defend the city of Milan by his imprudent delay, 282. Forced to abandon the Milanese, 290. Is wounded and his army defeated by the Imperialists, *ib.* Stimulates Francis to an invasion of the Milanese, 313. Advises Francis to besiege Pavia, 316. Advises him to give battle to Bourbon who advanced to the relief of Pavia, 323. Is killed at the battle of Pavia, 325.
- Books**, an inquiry into the materials of the ancient ones, 280. The loss of old manuscripts accounted for, *ib.* The great prices they sold for in ancient times, I. 281.

I N D E X.

Boroughs, representatives of, how introduced into national councils, I. 44.

Bouillon, Robert de la Marck, lord of, declares war against the Emperor Charles, at the instigation of Francis II. 194. Is ordered by Francis to disband his troops, 195. His territories reduced by the Emperor, *ib.*

Boulogne, besieged by Henry VIII. of England, III. 296. Taken, 306.

Bourbon, Charles Duke of, his character, II. 274. The causes of his discontent with Francis I. 275. His dutchess dies, 276. Rejects the advances of Louise the King's mother, *ib.* His estate sequestered by her intrigues, 277. Negotiates secretly with the Emperor, *ib.* Is included in a treaty between the Emperor and Henry VIII. of England, 278. Is taxed by the King with betraying him, which he denies, 279. Escapes to Italy, 280. Directs the measures of the Imperial army under Lannoy, 289. Defeats the French on the banks of the Sessia, 290. Instigates Charles to an invasion of France, 308. Advances to the relief of Pavia, 321. Defeats Francis, and takes him prisoner, 325. Hastens to Madrid to secure his own interests in the interview between Charles and Francis, 343. His kind reception by Charles, 352. Obtains a grant of the dutchy of Milan, and is made general of the Imperial army, 353. Obliges Sforza to surrender Milan, 386. Is forced to oppress the Milanese to satisfy his troops mutinying for pay, 392. Sets Morone at liberty, and makes him his confident, *ib.* Appoints Leyva governor of Milan, and advances to invade the Pope's territories, 394, 395. His disappointed troops mutiny, *ib.* He determines to plunder Rome, 400. Arrives at Rome, and assaults it, 401. Is killed, *ib.*

Brandenburgh, Elector of, avows the opinions of Luther, II. 295.

Albert of. See *Albert*.

Britons, ancient, their distress and dejection when deserted by the Romans, and harassed by the Picts and Caledonians, I. 233. *Note i.*

I N D E X.

Brotherhood of God, an account of that association for extinguishing private wars, I. 338.

Bruges, how it became the chief mart for Italian commodities during the middle ages, I. 404.

—— a league concluded there between the Emperor and Henry VIII. of England, against France, II. 199,

Brunswick, Duke of, avows the opinions of Luther, II. 295.

—— Henry, Duke of, driven from his dominions by the Protestant Princes of the league of Smalkalde, III. 280. Raises men for Francis, but employs them to recover his own dominions, 322. Is taken prisoner, *ib.*

Buda, siege of, by Ferdinand King of the Romans, III. 235. Is treacherously seized by Sultan Solymán, 236.

Burgundy, Mary, heiress of, the importance with which her choice in a husband was considered by all Europe, I. 124. The treacherous views of Lewis XI. of France toward her, 127. Is married to the Archduke Maximilian, 128. The influence of this match on the state of Europe, *ib.*

C.

Cæsar, his account of the ancient Germans, compared with that of Tacitus, I. 247.

Cajetan, Cardinal, the Pope's legate in Germany, appointed to examine the doctrines of Martin Luther, II. 129. Requires Luther peremptorily to retract his errors, *ib.* Requires the elector of Saxony to surrender or banish Luther, 131. His conduct justified, 133.

Calais, an ineffectual congress there, between the Emperor and Francis, under the mediation of Henry VIII. II. 197. The careless manner in which it was guarded in the reign of Mary Queen of England, IV. 292. Ineffectual remonstrances of Philip, and Lord Wentworth the governor, concerning its defenceless state, *ib.* Is invested and taken

I N D E X.

- by the Duke of Guise, 294. The English inhabitants turned out, 496. Stipulations concerning, in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, 330.
- Calatrava*, military order of, in Spain, zealous to employ their prowess in defence of the honours of the Virgin Mary, I. 427. The vow used by these knights, *ib.*
- Cambrai*, treaty of, its object, I. 140. The confederacy dissolved, 142. Articles of the peace concluded there, between the Emperor Charles, and Francis of France, III. 33. Remarks on this treaty, *ib.*
- Campe*, peace of, between Henry VIII. and Francis, III. 361.
- Campeggio*, Cardinal, made legate from Pope Clement VII. to the second diet at Nuremberg, II. 303. Publishes articles for reforming the inferior clergy, 305. Advises Charles to rigorous measures against the Protestants, III. 53.
- Canon Law*, an inquiry into, I. 74. Progress of ecclesiastical usurpations, 75. The maxims of, more equitable than the civil courts of the middle ages, 76.
- Capitulation* of the Germanic body, signed by Charles V. and prescribed to all his successors, II. 86.
- Caraffa*, Cardinal, his precipitate election, IV. 213. Is appointed legate to Bologna, *ib.* Reasons of his disgust with the Emperor, 214. Persuades the Pope to solicit an alliance with France against the Emperor, 215. 219. 222. His insidious commission to the court of France, 242. His public entry into Paris, 243. Exhorts Henry to break his truce with the Emperor, 244. Absolves Henry from his oath, 246. Negotiates a peace between the Pope and Philip, with the Duke d'Alva, 283. The fate of him and his brother on the death of Pope Paul, 335.
- Carlostadius*, imbibes the opinions of Martin Luther, at Wittemberg, II. 142. His intemperate zeal, 293. Awed by the reproofs of Luther, *ib.*
- Carignan*, besieged by the count d'Enguien, and defended

I N D E X.

by the marquis del Guaſto , III. 288. Guaſto defeated in a pitched battle , 291. The town taken , 293.

Caſtaldo , Marquis of Piadeno. See *Piadeno*.

Caſtile , riſe of the kingdom of , I. 175. Its union with Aragon , *ib.* King Henry IV , ſolemnly tried and depoſed in an aſſembly of the nobles , 179. The conſtitution and government of that kingdom , 184. A hiſtory of the Cortes of , and its privileges , *ib.* The kingdom originally elective , 421 , *Note xxxiii.* How Iſabella became poſſeſſed of that kingdom , II. 2. The Archduke Philip's title acknowledged by the Cortes of that kingdom , 4. Iſabella dies , and leaves her huſband Ferdinand of Aragon , regent , 8. Ferdinand reſigns the crown of , *ib.* Ferdinand acknowledged regent by the Cortes , 9. Enmity between this kingdom and Aragon , *ib.* The particular diſlike of the Caſtilians to Ferdinand *ib.* The regency of , jointly veſted in Ferdinand , Philip , and Joanna , by the treaty of Salamanca , 15. Declares againſt Ferdinand , 16. The regency of , reſigned by Philip to Ferdinand , 17. Philip and Joanna acknowledged King and Queen by the Cortes , 19. Death of Philip , *ib.* The perplexity of the Caſtilians on Joanna's incapacity for government , *ib.* Ferdinand gains the regency and the good will of the Caſtilians by his prudent adminiſtration , 24. Oran and other places in Barbary annexed to this kingdom by Ximenes , 25. Ximenes appointed regent by Ferdinand's will , until the arrival of Charles V. 35. Charles aſſumes the regal title , 40. Ximenes procures its acknowledgment , 41. The nobility depressed by Ximenes , 43. The grandees mutiny againſt Ximenes , 45. The mutiny ſuppreſſed , *ib.* Ximenes reſumes the grants made by Ferdinand to the nobles , 46. The bold reply of Ximenes to the diſcontented nobles , 48. Other aſſociates in the regency appointed with Ximenes at the inſtigatiſon of the Flemiſh courtiers , 49. Ximenes dies , 61. Charles acknowledged King by the Cortes , on his arrival , with a reſervation in favour of his mother Joanna , 62. The Caſtilians receive unfavourable impreſſions of
of

I N D E X.

- of him, 63. Disgusted by his partiality to his Flemish ministers, 64. Sauvage made chancellor, *ib.* William de Croy, appointed archbishop of Toledo, 65. The principal cities confederate, and complain of their grievances, 68. The clergy of, refuse to levy the tenth of benefices granted by the Pope to Charles V. 89. Interdicted, but the interdict taken off, by Charles's application, *ib.* An insurrection there, 92. Increase of disaffection, 93. Cardinal Adrian appointed regent, on the departure of Charles for Germany, 95. The views and pretensions of the commons, in their insurrections, 230. The confederacy called the Holy Junta formed, 232. The proceedings of which are carried on in the name of Queen Joanna, 234. Receives circulatory letters from Charles for the insurgents to lay down their arms, with promises of pardon, 236. The nobles undertake to suppress the insurgents, 243. Raise an army against them under the Conde de Haro, 246. Haro gets possession of Joanna, 247. Expedients by which they raise money for their troops, 250. Unwilling to proceed to extremities with the Junta, *ib.* The army of the Junta routed and Padilla executed, 255, 256. Dissolution of the Junta, 258. The moderation of Charles toward the insurgents on his arrival in Spain, 268. He acquires the love of the Castilians, *ib.* See *Spain*.
- Catalonia*, the spirited behaviour of the people there in defence of their rights, against their King John II. of Aragon, I. 178.
- Catherine* of Aragon, is divorced from Henry VIII. of England, III. 73. Dies, 171.
- a Boria, a nun, flies from her cloister, and marries Martin Luther, II. 373.
- di Medici. See *MEDICI*.
- Cavi*, peace concluded there between Pope Paul IV. and Philip II. of Spain, IV. 283.
- Censuales*, a species of the Oblati, or voluntary slaves, the obligations they entered into described, I. 326.
- VOL. IV. C c

I N D E X.

Centenarii, or inferior judges in the middle ages, the extraordinary oath required from them, I. 398.

Cercamp, negociations for peace entered into there between Philip II. of Spain, and Henry II. of France, IV. 311. 321. The negociations removed to Chateau Cambresis, 326. See *Chateau Cambresis*.

Champs de Mars, and *de Mai*, account of those assemblies of the ancient Gauls, I. 433.

Characters of men, rules for forming a proper estimate of them, III. 338. Applied to the case of Luther, *ib*.

Charlemagne, his law to prevent private wars for redress of personal injuries. I. 54. 334. State of Germany under his descendants, 207.

Charles IV. Emperor, of Germany, dissipates the Imperial domains, I. 456. His observations on the manners of the clergy, in his letter to the archbishop of Metz, II. 152, *Note*.

——— V. Emperor, an emulator of the heroick conduct of his rival, Francis I. I. 86. His future grandeur founded on the marriage of the archduke Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy, 128. His descent and birth, II. 1. How he came to inherit such extensive dominions, *ib*. Acknowledged Prince of Asturias, by the Cortes of Castile, 19. His father Philip dies, *ib*. Jealousy and hatred of his grandfather Ferdinand toward him, 26. Left heir to his dominions, 29. Death of Ferdinand, *ib*. His education committed to William de Croy, lord of Chievres, *ib*. Adrian of Utrecht appointed to be his preceptor, 30. The first opening of his character, 32. Assumes the government of Flanders, and attends to business, *ib*. Sends Cardinal Adrian to be regent of Castile, who executes it jointly with Ximenes, 38. Assumes the regal title, 40. His title admitted with difficulty by the Castilian nobility, 41. Persuaded to add associate regents to Ximenes, 49. His Flemish court corrupted by the avarice of Chievres, 52. Persuaded by

I N D E X.

Ximenes to visit Spain, but how that journey is retarded, 54. The present state of his affairs. *ib.* Concludes a peace at Noyon with Francis I. of France, and the conditions of the treaty, 55. Arrives in Spain, 58. His ungrateful treatment of Ximenes, 60. His public entry into Valladolid, 62. Is acknowledged King by the Cortes, who vote him a free gift, *ib.* The Castilians receive infavourable impressions of him, 64. Disgusts them by his partiality to his Flemish ministers, *ib.* Sets out for Aragon, *ib.* Sends his brother Ferdinand to visit their grandfather Maximilian, 65. Cannot assemble the Cortes of Aragon in his own name, 66. The opposition made by that assembly to his desires, *ib.* Refuses the application of Francis I. for the restitution of the kingdom of Navarre, 67. Neglects the remonstrances of the Castilians, 68. Death of the Emperor Maximilian, 69. View of the present state of Europe, *ib.* How Maximilian was obstructed in securing the Empire to him, 70. Francis I. aspires to the Imperial crown, 71. Circumstances favourable to the pretensions of Charles, *ib.* 72. The Swiss Cantons espouse his cause, 76. Apprehensions and conduct of Pope Leo X. on the occasion, 78. Assembling of the diet at Francfort, 80. Frederic duke of Saxony refuses the offer of the empire and votes for him, 82. And refuses the presents offered by his ambassadors, 83. Concurring circumstances which favoured his election, 84. His election, 85. Signs and confirms the capitulation of the Germanic body, 86. The election notified to him, *ib.* Assumes the title of Majesty, *ib.* Accepts the Imperial dignity offered by the count Palatine ambassador from the electors, 88. The clergy of Castile refuse the tenth of benefices granted him by the Pope, 89. Procures the interdict the kingdom is laid under for refusal, to be taken off, 89. Empowers Cardinal Adrian to hold the Cortes of Valencia, 91. The nobles refuse to assemble without his presence, *ib.* Authorises the insurgents there to continue in arms, *ib.* Summons the Cortes of Castile to meet in

I N D E X.

Galicia, 92. Narrowly escapes with his Flemish ministers from an insurrection on that account, 93. Obtains a donative from the Cortes, 95. Prepares to leave Spain, and appoints regents, *ib.* Embarks, 96. Motives of this journey, 97. Rise of the rivalry between him and Francis I. 98. Courts the favour of Henry VIII. of England and his minister Cardinal Wolsey, 105. Visits Henry at Dover, 108. Promises Wolsey his interest for the papacy, 109. Has a second interview with Henry at Gravelines, 110. Offers to submit his differences with Francis to Henry's arbitration, 111. His magnificent coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, *ib.* Calls a diet at Worms, to check the reformers, 113. Causes which hindered his espousing the party of Martin Luther, 176. Grants Luther a safe-conduct to the diet of Worms, 177. An edict published against him, 179. His embarrassment at this time, 184. Concludes an alliance with the Pope, 189. The conditions of the treaty, *ib.* Death of his minister Chievres, and its advantages to him, 190. Invasion of Navarre by Francis, 192. The French driven out, and their general L'Esparre taken prisoner, 194. War declared against him by Robert de la Marck, lord of Bouillon, who ravages Luxemburgh, 194, 195. Reduces Bouillon, and invades France, *ib.* His demands at the congress at Calais, 198. Has an interview with Cardinal Wolsey at Bruges, and concludes a league with Henry VIII. against France, 199. Pope Leo declares for him against France, 204. The French driven out of Milan, 208. 213. Visits England in his passage to Spain, 217. Cultivates the good-will of Cardinal Wolsey, and creates the Earl of Surrey his high admiral, 218. Grants the island of Malta to the Knights of St. John, expelled from Rhodes by Solyman the Magnificent, 222. Arrives in Spain, 223. A retrospect of his proceedings in relation to the insurrections in Spain, 236. Issues circulatory letters for the insurgents to lay down their arms, with promises of pardon, *ib.* His prudent moderation toward the insurgents, on his arrival in Spain, 268. Acquires

I N D E X.

the love of the Castilians, 269. Enters into a league with Charles Duke of Bourbon, 278. Why he did not endeavour to get Wolfey elected Pope, 284. Invades Guienne and Burgundy without success, 287. His troops in Milan mutiny for want of pay, but are pacified by Morone, 289. Undertakes an invasion of Provence, 308. Orders Pescara to besiege Marfeilles, 309. Pescara obliged to retire, 310. Disconcerted by the French over-running the Milanese again, 315. The revenues of Naples mortgaged to raise money, *ib.* His troops defeat Francis and take him prisoner at the battle of Pavia, 326. His affected moderation at receiving the news, 328. Avails himself of a treaty concluded between Lannoy and Pope Clement, but refuses to ratify it, 335. His army in Pavia mutiny, and are obliged to be disbanded, 336. His deliberations on the proper improvement of his disadvantages, 337. His propositions to Francis, 338. After many delays grants Sforza the investiture of Milan, 342. Morone's intrigues betrayed to him by Pescara, 348. Orders Pescara to continue his negotiations with Morone, 348. His rigorous treatment of Francis, 349. Visits Francis, 351. His kind reception of the Duke of Bourbon, 352. Grants Bourbon the duchy of Milan, and appoints him general in chief of the Imperial army there, 353. Fruitless negotiations for the delivery of Francis, 354. Treaty of Madrid, with Francis, 356. Delivers up Francis, 362. Marries Isabella of Portugal, *ib.* An alliance formed against him at Cognac, 379. Sends ambassadors to Francis to require the fulfilment of the treaty of Madrid, 382. Prepares for war against Francis, 384. The Pope reduced to an accommodation with him, 389. The exhausted state of his finances, 391. His troops under Bourbon distressed and mutinous for want of pay, *ib.* Bourbon assaults Rome, and is slain but the city taken, 404. The Prince of Orange general on Bourbon's death, takes the castle of St Angelo, and the Pope prisoner, 407. The Emperor's conduct, on that occasion, 408. His dissensions with the Pope,

I N D E X.

how far favourable to the reformation, 411. His instructions to the diet at Spires, *ib.* His manifesto against the Pope, and letter to the Cardinals, 412. France and England league against him, III. 3. Is refused supplies by the Cortes of Castile, 9. Delivers the Pope for a ransom, 10. His overtures to Henry and Francis, 12. Their declaration of war against him, 14. Is challenged by Francis to single combat, *ib.* Andrew Doria revolts from Francis to him, 22. His forces defeat the French in Italy, 25. 28. His motives for desiring an accommodation, 29. Concludes a separate treaty with the Pope, 30. Terms of the peace of Cambray concluded with Francis by the mediation of Margaret of Austria and Louise of France, 32. Remarks on the advantages gained by him in this treaty, and on his conduct of the war, *ib.* Visits Italy, 38. His policy on his publick entry into Barcelona, 40. Has an interview with the Pope at Bologna, *ib.* Motives for his moderation in Italy, *ib.* His treaties with the states of, 41. Is crowned King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, 43. Summons a diet at Spires to consider the state of religion, 46. His deliberations with the Pope, respecting the expediency of calling a general council, 48. Appoints a diet at Augsburgh, 50. Makes a publick entry into that city, *ib.* His endeavours to check the reformation, *ib.* Resolute behaviour of the Protestant Princes toward him, 52. His severe decree against the Protestants, *ib.* Proposes his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans, 55. Is opposed by the Protestants, 56. Obtains his election, 57. Is desirous of an accommodation with the Protestants, 60. Concludes a treaty with them at Nuremberg, 61. Raises an army to oppose the Turks under Solyman, and obliges him to retire, 63. Has another interview with the Pope, and presses him to call a general council, 64. Procures a league of the Italian States to secure the peace of Italy, 67. Arrives at Barcelona, *ib.* His endeavours to prevent the nego-

I N D E X.

ciations and meeting between the Pope and Francis, 71.
 Undertakes to expel Barbarossa from Tunis, and restore
 Muley Hascen, 105. Lands in Africa, and besieges
 Goletta, 107. Takes Goletta, and seizes Barbarossa's
 fleet, 109, 110. Defeats Barbarossa, and takes Tunis,
 111, 112. Restores Muley Hascen, and the treaty
 between them, 113. The glory acquired by this enter-
 prize, and the delivery of the Christian captives, 114.
 Seizes the dutchy of Milan on the death of Francis
 Sforza, 130. His policy with regard to it, *ib.* Prepares
 for war with Francis, 132. His invective against
 Francis at Rome before the Pope in council, 133.
 Remarks on this transaction, 136. Invades France, 139.
 Enters Provence and finds it desolated, 144. Besieges
 Marseilles and Arles, 146. His miserable retreat from
 Provence, 148. His invasion of Picardy defeated, 150.
 Is accused of poisoning the Dauphin, 152. Improbability
 of its truth, *ib.* Conjecture concerning the Dauphin's
 death, *ib.* Flanders invaded by Francis, 155. A suspension
 of arms in Flanders, how negociated, *ib.* A truce in
 Piedmont, 156. Motives to these truces, *ib.* Negociation
 for peace with Francis, 161. Concludes a truce for ten
 years at Nice, 162. Remarks on the war, *ib.* His
 interview with Francis, 164. Courts the friendship of
 Henry VIII. of England, 172. Indulges the Protestant
 Princes, 173. Quiets their apprehensions of the Catholick
 league, 178. His troops mutiny, 181. Assembles the
 Cortes of Castile, 182. Destroys the ancient constitution
 of the Cortes, 184. Instance of the haughty spirit of
 the Spanish grandees, 185. Desires permission of Francis
 to pass through France to the Netherlands, 195. His
 reception in France, 196. His rigorous treatment of
 Ghent, 200. Refuses to fulfil his engagement to Francis,
 202. Appoints a friendly conference between a deputation
 of Catholick and Protestant divines before the diet at
 Ratisbon, 27. Result of this conference, 230. Grants
 a private exemption from oppressions to the Protestants,
 231. Undertakes to reduce Algiers, 239. Is near being

I N D E X.

cast away by a violent storm, 243. Lands near Algiers, *ib.* His soldiers exposed to a violent tempest and rain, 245. His fleet shattered, 246. His fortitude under these disasters, 248, 249. Leaves his enterprize and embarks again, *ib.* Is distressed with another storm at sea, *ib.* Takes advantage of the French invasion of Spain to obtain subsidies from the Cortes, 261. His treaty with Portugal, *ib.* Concludes a league with Henry VIII. 263. Particulars of the treaty, 265. Over-runs Cleves, and his barbarous treatment of the town of Duren, 269. His behaviour to the Duke of Cleves, 270. Besieges Landrecy, *ib.* Is joined by an English detachment, *ib.* Is forced to retire, 271. Courts the favour of the Protestants, 280. His negociations with the Protestants, at the diet at Spire, 281. Procures the concurrence of the diet in a war against Francis, 286. Negotiates a separate peace with the King of Denmark, *ib.* Invades Champagne, and invests St Dizier, 294. Want of concert between his operations and those of Henry, who now invades France, 296. Obtains St. Dizier by artifice, 297. His distresses and happy movements; 299. Concludes a separate peace with Francis, 301. His motives to this peace, 302. His advantages by this treaty, 305. Obliges himself by a private article to exterminate the Protestant heresy, 300. Is cruelly afflicted with the gout, 309. Diet at Worms, 311. Arrives at Worms and alters his conduct toward the Protestants, 314. His conduct on the death of the Duke of Orleans, 319. His dissimulation to the Landgrave of Hesse, 341. Concludes a truce with Solyman, 346. Holds a diet at Ratisbon, 347. His declaration to the Protestant deputies, 352. His treaty with the Pope, concluded by the Cardinal of Trent, *ib.* His circular letter to the Protestant members of the Germanick body, 354. The Protestants levy an army against him, 364. Is unprepared against them, 365. Puts them under the ban of the Empire, 367. The Protestants declare war against him, 369. Marches to join the troops sent by the Pope, 372. Farnese, the

I N D E X.

Pope's legate, returns in disgust, 374. His prudent declension of an action with the Protestants, 378. Is joined by his Flemish troops, *ib.* Proposals of peace made by the Protestants, 391. Their army disperse, 392. His rigorous treatment of the Protestant Princes, 395. Dismisses part of his army, 398. The Pope recalls his troops, 399. His reflection on Fiesco's insurrection at Genoa, 417. Is alarmed at the hostile preparations of Francis, 423. Death of Francis, 425. A parallel drawn between him and Francis, 426. Consequences of Francis's death to him, 430. Marches against the Elector of Saxony, 431. Passes the Elbe, 434. Defeats the Saxon army, 438. Takes the Elector prisoner, *ib.* His harsh reception of him, 439. Invests Wittemberg, 441. Condemns the Elector to death, by a court-martial, 443. The Elector by treaty surrenders the electorate, 446. The harsh terms imposed by him on the Landgrave of Hesse, 450. His haughty reception of the Landgrave, 454. Detains him prisoner, 456. Seizes the warlike stores of the league, 462. His cruel exactions, *ib.* Assembles a diet at Augsburgh, 466. Intimidates the diet by his Spanish troops, *ib.* Re-establishes the Romish worship in the churches of Augsburgh, 467. Seizes Placentia, 473. Orders the diet to petition the Pope for the return of the council to Trent, 476. Protests against the council of Bologna, 479. Causes a system of faith to be prepared for Germany, 480. Lays it before the diet, 482. The *Interim* opposed, 488. And rejected by the Imperial cities, 490. Reduces the city of Augsburgh to submission, 492. Repeats the same violence at Ulm, *ib.* Carries the Elector and Landgrave with him into the Low Countries, 494. Procures his son Philip to be recognized by the States of the Netherlands, 496. Establishes the *Interim* there, 467. Re-assembles the diet at Augsburgh, under the influence of his Spanish troops, IV. 10. The city of Magdeburgh refuses to admit the *Interim*, and prepares for resistance, 20. Appoints Maurice Elector of Saxony to reduce it, 21. Promises

I N D E X.

to protect the Protestants at the council of Trent, 23. Arbitrarily releases Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, from their engagements to the Landgrave for the recovery of his liberty, 24. Endeavours to secure the Empire for his son Philip, 26. His brother Ferdinand refuses to resign his pretensions, 27. Besieges Parma, but is repulsed, 36. Proceeds rigorously against the Protestants, 38. Endeavours to support the council of Trent, 39. Puts Magdeburgh under the ban of the Empire, 40. Absolves the city, 46. Is involved in disputes between the council and the Protestant deputies, concerning their safe conduct, 49. Begins to suspect Maurice of Saxony, 66. Circumstances which contributed to deceive him with regard to Maurice, 68. Maurice takes the field against him, 70. Maurice seconded by Henry II. of France, 72. His distress and consternation, 73. An ineffectual negociation with Maurice, 75. Flies from Inspruck, 80. Releases the Elector of Saxony, 82. Is solicited to satisfy the demands of Maurice, 91. His present difficulties, 93. Refuses any direct compliance with the demands of Maurice, 97. Is disposed to yield by the progress of Maurice's operations, 98. Makes a peace with Maurice at Passau, 101. Reflections on this treaty, 103. Turns his arms against France, 112. Lays siege to Metz, 116. Is joined by Albert of Brandenburg, 117. His army distressed by the vigilance of the Duke of Guise, 119. Raises the siege and retires in a shattered condition, 122. Cosmo di Medici asserts his independency against him, 124. Siena revolts against him, 124. Is dejected at his bad success, 128. Takes Terrouane, and demolishes it, 138. Takes Hesden, *ib.* Proposes his son Philip as a husband to Mary Queen of England, 155. The articles of the marriage, 157. Marches to oppose the French operations, 167. Is defeated by Henry, 168. Invades Picardy, 169. Grants Siena, subdued by Cosmo di Medici, to his son Philip, 181. A diet at Augsburgh opened by Ferdinand, 101. Leaves the interior administration of Germany to Ferdinand, 196. Applies again

I N D E X.

- to Ferdinand to resign his pretensions of succession to Philip, but is refused, 197. Recess of the diet of Augsburgh on the subject of religion, 200. A treaty concluded between Pope Paul IV. and Henry II. of France against him, 223. Resigns his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, *ib.* His motives for retirement, 224. Had long meditated this resignation, 228. The ceremony of this deed, 230. His speech, on this occasion, 231. Resigns, also the dominions of Spain, 235. His intended retirement into Spain retarded, 236. A truce for five years concluded with France, 239. Endeavours in vain to secure the Imperial crown for Philip, 254. Resigns the Imperial crown to Ferdinand, 255. Sets out for Spain, 256. His arrival and reception in Spain, 257. Is distressed by his son's ungrateful neglect in paying his pension, 258. Fixes his retreat in the monastery of St. Justus in Placentia, *ib.* The situation of this monastery, and his apartments, described, 259. Contrast between the conduct of Charles and the Pope, 260. His manner of life in his retreat, 311. His death precipitated by his monastick severities, 315. Celebrates his own funeral, *ib.* Dies, 316. His character, 317. A review of the state of Europe during his reign, 337. His acquisitions to the crown of Spain, 341.
- Charles VII.** of France, the first who introduced standing armies in Europe, I. 112. His successful extension of the regal prerogative, 115.
- **VIII.** of France, his character, I. 129. How induced to invade Italy, *ib.* His resources and preparations for this enterprize 130. His rapid success, 131. A combination of the Italian states formed against him, 133. Is forced to return back to France, *ib.* The distressed state of his revenues by this expedition, 139.
- Charlevoix**, his account of the North-American Indians, made use of in a comparison between them and the ancient Germans I. 256.
- Charters**, of immunity or franchise, an inquiry into the nature of those granted by the barons of France to the

I N D E X.

- towns under their jurisdictions, I. 301. *Note xvi.* Of communities, granted by the Kings of France, how they tended to establish regular government, 39, 302.
- Chateau Cambresis*, the conferences for peace between Philip II. of Spain, and Henry II. of France, removed thither from Cercamp, IV. 326. The peace retarded by the demand of Elizabeth of England for the restitution of Calais, 327. Particulars of the treaty signed there between England and France, 329. Terms of the pacification between Philip and Henry, 332.
- Cheregato*, nuncio from the Pope to the diet at Nuremberg, his instructions, II. 296. Opposes the assembling a general council, 298.
- Chievres*, William de Croy, lord of, appointed by Maximilian to superintend the education of his grandson Charles II. 29. Adrian of Utrecht made preceptor under him, 30. His direction of the studies of Charles, 32. His avarice corrupts the Flemish court of Charles, 52. Negotiates a peace with France, 55. Endeavours to prevent an interview between Charles and Ximenes, 57. Attends Charles to Spain, 58. His ascendancy over Charles, 63. His extortions, 64. His death and the supposed causes of it, 190.
- Chivalry*, the origin of, I. 82. Its beneficial effects on human manners, 83. The enthusiasm of, distinguished from its salutary consequences, 85.
- Christianity*, corrupted when first brought into Europe, I. 88. Its influence in freeing mankind from the bondage of the feudal policy, 321. *Note xx.*
- Christians*, primitive, why averse to the principles of toleration, IV. 202.
- Circles* of Germany, the occasion of their being formed, I. 214.
- Cities*, the ancient state of, under the feudal policy, I. 36. The freedom of, where first established, 37. Charters of community, why granted in France by Louis le Gros, 39. Obtain the like all over Europe, 40. Acquire political consideration, 43.

I N D E X.

Clement VII. Pope, his election, II. 283. His character, *ib.* Grants Cardinal Wolsey a legatine commission in England for life, 284. Refuses to accede to the league against Francis, 288. Labours to accommodate the differences between the contending parties, *ib.* His proceedings with regard to the reformers, 303. Concludes a treaty of neutrality with Francis, 319. Enters into a separate treaty with Charles after the battle of Pavia, and the consequences of it, 335. Joins in an alliance with Francis Sforza, and the Venetians, against the Emperor, 379. Absolves Francis from his oath to observe the treaty of Madrid, 380. Cardinal Colonna seizes Rome, and invests him in the castle of St. Angelo, 389. Is forced to an accommodation with the Imperialists, *ib.* His revenge against the Colonna family, 394. Invades Naples, *ib.* His territories invaded by Bourbon, and his perplexity on the occasion, 397. Concludes a treaty with Lannoy viceroy of Naples, 398. His consternation on Bourbon's motions towards Rome, 402. Rome taken, and himself besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, 405. Surrenders himself prisoner, 407. The Florentines revolt against him, III. 4. Pays Charles a ransom for his liberty, with other stipulations, 10. Makes his escape from confinement, 11. Writes a letter of thanks to Lautrec, *ib.* Is jealous of the intentions of Francis, and negotiates with Charles, 19. His motives and steps towards an accommodation, 29. Concludes a separate treaty with Charles, 31. His interview with the Emperor at Bologna, 40. Crowns Charles, King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, 43. His representations to the Emperor against calling a general council, 48. Has another interview with Charles at Bologna, and the difficulties raised by him to the calling a general council, 64. Agrees to a league of the Italian States for the peace of Italy, 66. His interview and treaty with Francis, 71. Marries Catharine di Medici to the Duke of Orleans, *ib.* His protraction of the affair of the divorce solicited by Henry VIII. 72. Reverses Cranmer's sentence of divorce,

I N D E X.

under penalty of excommunication, 73. Henry renounces his supremacy, *ib.* His death, 74. Reflections on his Pontificate, 75.

Clergy, the progress of their usurpations, I. 75. Their plan of jurisprudence more perfect than that of the civil courts in the middle ages, 76. The great ignorance of, in the early feudal times, of Europe 279.

——— Romish, remarks on the immoral lives of, and how they contributed to the progress of the Reformation, II. 150. The facility with which they obtained pardons, 152. Their usurpations in Germany, during the disputes concerning investitures, 155. Their other opportunities of aggrandizing themselves there, 156. Their personal immunities, 157. Their encroachments on the laity, 158. The dreadful effects of spiritual censures, 159. Their devices to secure their usurpations, 160. The united effect of all these circumstances, 166. Oppose the advancement of learning in Germany, 171.

Cleriza, slave to Willa, widow of Duke Hugo, extract from the Charter of manumission, granted to her, I. 323.

Clermont, council of, resolves on the holy war, I. 28.

See *Peter the hermit*, and *Crusades*.

Cleves, invaded and over-run by the Emperor Charles V. III. 269. Cruel treatment of Duren, *ib.* Humiliating submission of the Duke, *ib.*

Clotaire I. instance of the small authority he had over his army, I. 431.

Clotharius II. his account of the popular assemblies among the ancient Gauls, I. 433.

Clovis, the founder of the French monarchy, unable to retain a sacred vase taken by his army, from being distributed by lot among the rest of the plunder, I. 254.

Note vii.

Cnipperdoling, a leader of the Anabaptists at Munster, an account of, III. 80. 83. See *Anabaptists*.

Cognac, an alliance formed there against Charles V. by the Pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and Francis I. II. 379.

I N D E X.

Coligni, admiral, governor of Picardy, defends St. Quintin against the Spanish general Emmanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy, IV. 270. His brother d'Andelot defeated in an endeavour to join the garrison, 272. But D'Andelot enters the town, 273. His character, 278. The town taken by assault, and himself taken prisoner, 279.

Colleges, the first establishment of, in Europe, I. 389.

Cologne, Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia, brother to the Emperor Charles V. elected King of the Romans by the college of Electors there, III. 57. Herman, Count de Wied, archbishop and elector of, inclines to the Reformation, and is opposed by his canons, who appeal to the Emperor and Pope, III. 316. Is deprived and excommunicated, 344. Resigns, 396.

Colonna, Cardinal Pompeo, his character, and rivalry with Pope Clement VII. II. 388. Seizes Rome, and invests the Pope in the castle of St. Angelo, 389. Is degraded, and the rest of the family excommunicated by the Pope, 394. Is prevailed on by the Pope when prisoner with the Imperialists to solicit his delivery, III. 10.

Prosper, the Italian general, his character, II. 204. Appointed to command the troops in the invasion of Milan, *ib.* Drives the French out of Milan, 208. His army how weakened at the death of Pope Leo X. 209. Defeats Marechal de Lautrec, at Bicocca, 213. Reduces Genoa, 216. The bad state of his troops when the French invade Milan, 281. Is enabled to defend the city by the ill conduct of Bonnivet the French commander, 282. Dies, and is succeeded by Lannoy, 289.

Combat, judicial, the prohibition of, an improvement in the administration of justice, I. 56. The foundation and universality of this mode of trial, 62. The pernicious effects of, 64. Various expedients for abolishing this practice, 65. The ancient Swedish law of, for words of reproach, 350. Positive evidence, or points of proof, rendered ineffectual by it, 355. This mode of trial

I N D E X

- authorized by the ecclesiasticks, 357. The last instances of, in the histories of France and England, 358.
- Commerce*, the spirit of crusading how far favourable to, at that early period, I. 34. The first establishment of free corporations, 38. Charters of community why granted by Louis le Gros, 39. The like practice obtains all over Europe, 40. The salutary effects of these institutions, *ib.* The low state of, during the middle ages, 92. Causes contributing to its revival, 93. Promoted by the Hanseatic league, 95. Is cultivated in the Netherlands, 96. Is introduced into England by Edward III. 97. The beneficial consequences resulting from the revival of, *ib.* The early cultivation of, in Italy, 399.
- Common law*, the first compilation of, made in England by Lord Chief Justice Glanville, I. 382.
- Communities*, see *Charters*, *Cities*, *Commerce*, and *Corporations*.
- Comnena*, Anne, her character of the Crusades, I. 293.
- Compass*, mariner's when invented, and its influence on the extension of commerce, I. 94.
- Composition* for personal injuries, the motive for establishing, I. 334. The custom of, deduced from the practice of the ancient Germans, I. 359.
- Compurgators*, introduced as evidence in the jurisprudence of the middle ages, I. 58.
- Condottieri*, in the Italian policy, what, I. 160.
- Conchillos*, an Aragonian gentleman, employed by Ferdinand of Aragon, to obtain Joanna's consent to his regency of Castile, II. 12. Thrown into a dungeon by the Archduke Philip, *ib.*
- Confession* of Augsburgh, drawn up by Melancthon, II. 51.
- Conrad*, count of Franconia, how he obtained his election of the Empire, I. 207.
- Conradin*, the last rightful heir to the crown of Naples of the house of Swabia, his unhappy fate, I. 166.
- Constance*, treaty of, between the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the free cities of Italy, I. 300.
- the privileges of that city taken away by the Emperor

I N D E X.

Emperor Charles V. for disobedience to the *Interim*, III. 497.

Constantinople, its flourishing state at the time of the Crusades, I. 30. When first taken by the Turks, 223. The Crusades how looked upon there, 293. The account given of this city by the Latin Writers, 294.

Constitutions, popular, how formed, I. 42.

Cordova, Gonfalgo de, secures the crown of Naples to Ferdinand of Aragon, I. 168.

Corporations, and bodies politick, the establishments of, how far favourable to the improvement of manners, I. 36. The privileges of, where first claimed, 38. Charters of community, why granted by Louis le Gros in France, 39. The institution of, obtains all over Europe, 40. Their effects, *ib.*

Corfairs of Barbary, an account of the rise of, III. 97
See *Algiers*, *Barbarossa*.

Cortes, of Aragon, its constitution and privileges, I. 180. 417. Acknowledges the Archduke Philip's title to the crown, II. 4. Not allowed to assemble in the name of Charles V. 66. Their opposition to his desires, *ib.* Is prevailed on by the Emperor to recognize his son Philip as successor to that kingdom, III. 261. See *Spain*.

—— of Castile, a history of, and an account of its constitution and privileges, I. 184. The vigilance with which it guarded its privileges against the encroachments of the regal power, 185. Acknowledges the Archduke Philip's title to the crown, II. 4. Is prevailed on to acknowledge Ferdinand regent, according to Isabella's will, 9. Acknowledges Philip and Joanna King and Queen of Castile, and their son Charles, Prince of Asturias, 19. Declares Charles King, and votes him a free gift, 62. Summoned by Charles to meet at Compostella in Galicia, 92. Tumultuary proceedings thereupon, 93. A donative voted, 95. Loses all its influence by the dissolution of the Holy Junta, 262. Its backwardness to grant supplies for the Emperor's wars in Italy, 391. Refuses his pressing solicitations for a

VOL. IV. D d

I N D E X,

- supply, III. 9. Assembled at Toledo to grant supplies to the Emperor, 182. The remonstrances of, *ib.* The ancient constitution of, subverted by Charles, 183. See *Spain*.
- Cortes* of Valencia, prevailed on by the Emperor Charles V. to acknowledge his son Philip successor to that kingdom, III. 261. See *Spain*.
- Cortona*, Cardinal di, governor of Florence for the Pope, expelled by the Florentines, on the Pope's captivity, III. 4.
- Cosmo* di Medici. See *Medici*.
- Cranmer*, archbishop of Canterbury, annuls the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Aragon, which was refused to Henry by the Pope, III. 72. His sentence reversed by the Pope, 73.
- Crespy*, peace of, between the Emperor and Francis, III. 301.
- Croy*, William de, nephew to Chievres, made archbishop of Toledo, by Charles V. II. 65. Dies, 261.
- Crusades*, the first motives of undertaking, I. 26. The enthusiastick zeal with which they were undertaken, 27. First promoted by Peter the hermit, 28. The success of them, 29. The consequences resulting from them, 30. Their effects on manners, *ib.* On property, 31. How advantageous to the enlargement of the regal power of the European princes, 32. The commercial effects of, 34. 93. The universal frenzy for engaging in these expeditions accounted for, 285. *Note* xiii. The privileges granted to those who engaged in them, 287. Stephen earl of Chartres and Blois, his account of them, 289. The expence of conducting them, how raised, 290. Character given of the Crusades by the Greek writers, 293.

D.

- D'Albert*, John, expelled from his kingdom of Navarre by Ferdinand of Aragon, II. 26. Invades Navarre, but is defeated by Cardinal Ximenes, 50.

I N D E X.

D'Alembert, M. his observation on the order of Jesuits, III. 218. *Note*.

D'Andelot, brother to Coligni, is defeated by the Duke of Saxony in an endeavour to succour St. Quintin, IV. 272. But enters the town with the fugitives, 273. The town taken by assault, 279.

Dauphin of France, eldest son of Francis I. is delivered up with the Duke of Orleans, to the Emperor Charles V. in exchange for his father, as hostages for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, II. 362. His death imputed to poison, III. 151. The most probable cause of it, 152.

—— late Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis I. commands an army and invades Spain, III. 258. Is forced to abandon the siege of Perpignan, 259. Is dissatisfied at the peace of Crespy, 307. Makes a secret protestation against it, 308.

—— of France, son of Henry II. contracted to Mary the young Queen of Scotland, III. 475. Is married to her, IV. 300.

Debt, the first hint of attaching moveables for the recovery of, derived from the canon law I. 380.

Debtors, how considered in the rude and simple state of society, I. 305.

Denmark, a summary view of the revolutions in, during the sixteenth century, III. 371.

—— King of, joins the Protestant league at Smalkalde, III. 177.

De Retz, Cardinal, writes a history of Fiesco's conspiracy while a youth, III. 416, *Note*.

Diona of Poitiers, mistress to Henry II. of France, assists the Guises in persuading Henry to an alliance with Pope Paul IV. against the Emperor, IV. 219. Induces Henry to break the treaty of Vaucelles, 246. Marries her grand-daughter to one of Montmorency's sons, 309. Joins Montmorency against the Guises, *ib*.

Diets of Germany, some account of, I. 463.

I N D E X.

Doctors in the different faculties, dispute precedence with knights, I. 390.

Doria, Andrew, assists Lautrec in subduing Genoa, III. 7. Conquers and kills Moncada in a sea engagement before the harbour of Naples, 18. His character, 20. Is disgusted with the behaviour of the French, 21. Revolts to the Emperor, 22. Opens to Naples a communication by sea, 23. Rescues Genoa from the French, 25. Restores the government of, to the citizens, 26. The respect paid to his memory, 27. Attends the Emperor Charles in his disastrous expedition against Algiers, 242. His partial fondness for his kinsman Giannetino, 402. His narrow escape in Lavagno's insurrection, 413. Returns on Lavagno's death, and the dispersion of his party, 416. See *Genoa* and *Lavagno*.

———— Giannetino, his character, III. 402. Is murdered by Lavagno's conspirators, 413.

Dover, an interview there between Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. II. 108.

Dragut, a corsair, commands the Turkish fleet which ravages the coast of Naples, IV. 128.

Du Prat, chancellor of France, his character, II. 277. Commences a law-suit against Charles Duke of Bourbon, for his estate, at the instigation of Louise the King's mother, *ib.*

Duelling, the custom of, how rendered general, III. 16. Its influence on manners, *ib.*

Duren in Cleves, taken by the Emperor Charles V. the inhabitants put to the sword, and the town burnt, III. 469.

E.

Eccius, an adversary of Luther's, holds a publick disputation with him at Leipzig, on the validity of the papal authority, II. 137.

Ecclesiastical, jurisprudence, more perfect in its plan than the civil courts of the middle ages, I. 76.

I N D E X.

- Ecclesiastical* censures of the Romish church, the dreadful effects of, II. 159.
- Reservation, in the recess of the diet of Augsburg, remarks on, III. 61.
- Ecclesiasticks*, when, and by what degrees they claimed exemption from civil jurisdiction, I. 376. Military talents cultivated and exercised by those of the middle ages, 384.
- Edinburgh*, plundered and burnt by the Earl of Hertford, III. 295.
- Edward* III. of England, his endeavours to introduce commerce into his kingdom, I. 96.
- VI. ————— his character, IV. 154.
- Egmont*, count of, commands the cavalry at the battle of St. Quintin, and puts Montmorency's troops to flight, IV. 272. Engages Marshal de Termes, and defeats him by the casual arrival of an English squadron, 303.
- Egypt*, how and by whom added to the Ottoman Empire, II. 72.
- Ehrenburgh*, the castle of, taken by Maurice of Saxony, IV. 78.
- Eignotz*, a faction in Geneva so termed, an account of, III. 126.
- Electors* of Germany, the rise of their privileges, I. 219.
- Elizabeth* sister of Mary, her accession to the crown of England, IV. 322. Her character, *ib.* Is addressed by Philip of Spain, and Henry of France, for marriage, *ib.* Her prudent conduct between them, 324. How determined against Henry, 325. Her motives for rejecting Philip, 326. Returns Philip an evasive answer, *ib.* Demands restitution of Calais at the conferences at Chateau Cambresis, 327. Establishes the Protestant religion in England, 328. Treaty between her and Henry signed at Chateau Cambresis, 329.
- Eloy* St. his definition or description of a good Christian, I. 283, *Note* xi.
- Emmanuel* Philibert, Duke of Savoy. See *Savoy*.
- Emperors* of Germany, an inquiry into their power,

I N D E X.

- jurisdiction , and revenue , I. 455 , *Note* xlii. The ancient mode of electing them , 459.
- England* , a summary view of the contests between , and France , I. 105. The consequences of its losing its continental possessions , 108. The power of the crown , how extended , 122. See *Henry VII.* Why so many marks of Saxon usages and language , in comparison with those of the Normans , to be found in , 236 , *Note* iv. When corporations began to be established in , 316. Instances of the long continuance of personal servitude there , 327. Inquiry into the Saxon laws for putting an end to private wars , 340. The causes of the speedy decline of private wars there , proposed to the researches of Antiquarians , 344. The last instances of judicial combat recorded in the history of , 358. The territorial jurisdiction of the barons how abolished , 374. Cause of the slow progress of commerce there , 406. The first commercial treaty entered into by , 408. By what means that kingdom was freed from the Papal supremacy , and received the doctrines of the Reformation , III. 73. Mary , Queen of , married to Prince Philip , son of the Emperor Charles V. contrary to the sense of the nation , IV. 156. The marriage ratified by parliament , 160. Is reluctantly engaged by Philip , now King of Spain , in the war against France , 268. Mary levies money by her prerogative , to carry on the war , 269. Calais taken by the Duke of Guise , 294. Guisnes and Ham taken , *ib.* Death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth , 322. The protestant religion established by Elizabeth , 328. Treaty with France signed at Chateau Cambresis , 329. Its interior strength how increased by the conduct of Henry VIII. 349. Its power no longer fruitlessly wasted on the continent , 352. Alteration of its conduct toward Scotland , 353.
- Enguien* , the count de , besieges Carignan , III. 289. Desires of Francis , permission to engage Gualto , 290. Defeats Gualto in a pitched battle , 291.
- Erard de la Mark* , ambassador of Charles V. to the diet

I N D E X,

of Frankfort, his private motives for thwarting the pretensions of Francis I. of France, to the Imperial crown, II. 84. Signs the capitulation of the Germanick body, on behalf of Charles, 86.

Erasmus, some account of, II. 172. Preceded Luther in his censures against the Romish church, *ib.* Concurs with him in his intentions of reformation, 173. Motives which checked him in this, *ib.*

Escorial, palace of, built by Philip II. in memory of the battle of St. Quintin, IV. 281.

Evidence, the imperfect nature of that admitted in law-proceedings during the middle ages, I. 57. Rendered ineffectual by the judicial combat, 355.

Europe, the alterations in, by the conquests of the Romans, I. 2. The improvements the nations of, received in exchange for their liberties, *ib.* Its disadvantages under this change of circumstances, 3. Inquiry into the supposed populousness of the ancient northern nations, 5. The savage desolations exercised by the Goths, Vandals, and Huns, 11. The universal change occasioned by their irruptions and conquest, 12. The first rudiments of the present policy of, to be deduced from this period, 13. Origin of the feudal system, 14. See *Feudal system*. The general barbarism introduced with this policy, 21. At what time government and manners began to improve, 25. The causes and events which contributed to this improvement, 26. See *Crusades*, *Corporations*, *People*. The miseries occasioned by private wars in, 53. Methods taken to suppress them, 54. Judicial combats prohibited, 56. The defects of judicial proceedings in the middle ages, 57. The influence of superstition in these proceedings, 59. The origin of the independent territorial jurisdiction of the barons, 67. The bad consequences of their judicial power, 68. The steps taken by princes to abolish their courts, 71. An inquiry into the canon law, 74. Revival of the Roman law, 79. Effects of the spirit of chivalry, 82. How improved by the progress of science and cultivation of literature, 86.

I N D E X.

Christianity corrupted when first received in, 88. Scholastick theology the first object of learning in, 89. Low state of commerce in, during the middle ages, 92. Commerce revives in Italy, 94. Is promoted by the Hanseatick league, 95. Is cultivated in the Netherlands, 96. The effects of the progress of commerce, on the polishing of manners, 97. The effects of the marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with the archduke Maximilian, on the state of, 128. By what means standing forces became general in, 134. Consequences of the league of Cambray to, 140. A view of the political constitution of the several states of, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, 146. Italy, 148. The papacy, 149. Venice, 159. Florence, 163. Naples, 164. Milan, 168. Spain, 172. France, 197. Germany, 206. Turkey, 223. Instances of the small intercourse among nations in the middle ages, 392. A short view of the state of, at the death of the Emperor Maximilian, II. 69. The contemporary monarchs of, all illustrious, at the time of Charles V. 112. The method of carrying on war in, how improved beyond the practice of earlier ages, 285. The sentiments of, on Charles's treatment of the Pope, III. 1. A review of the state of, during the reign of the Emperor Charles V. IV. 336. The remarkable change in, at this period, 338. How affected by the revolt of Luther against the church of Rome, 356. *Eutemi*, King of Algiers, engages Barbarossa in his service, and is murdered by him, II. 98. 99. *Excommunication* in the Romish church, the original institution of, and the use made of it, II. 159.

F.

Farneſe, Alexander, his unanimous election to the Papacy, III. 74. See *Paul* III.

—— Cardinal, accompanies the troops sent by the Pope to the Emperor, against the army of the Protestant league. III. 373. Returns disgusted, 374. Leads the

I N D E X.

troops home again by the Pope's order, 399. Contributes to the election of Cardinal di Monte to the Papacy, IV. 6.

Farnese, Octavio, grandson of Pope Paul III. endeavours to surprize Parma, and enters into treaty with the Emperor, IV. 3. Is confirmed in Parma, by Julius, 32. Procures an alliance with France, 35. Is attacked by the Imperialists, but successfully protected by the French, *ib.* Placentia restored to him by Philip II. of Spain, 285.

———— Peter Lewis, natural son of Pope Paul III. obtains of his father the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, III. 320. His character, 470, 471, Is assassinated 472.

Feodum, the etymology of that word, I. 271.

Ferdinand, King of Aragon, unites the Spanish monarchy, by his marriage with Isabella of Castile, 175. His schemes to exalt the regal power, 190. Resumes former grants of land from his barons, 191. Unites to the crown the grand masterships of the three military orders, 192. Why he patronized the association called the *Holy Brotherhood*, against the barons, 195. How he acquired his kingdoms, II. 2. Invites his daughter Joanna, and her husband, Philip Archduke of Austria, to Spain, 3. Becomes jealous of Philip, 4. Carries on his war with France vigorously, notwithstanding Philip's treaty with Lewis, 6. His Queen Isabella dies, and leaves him regent of Castile, under restrictions, 8. Resigns the kingdom of Castile, and is acknowledged Regent by the Cortes, *ib.* His character, 9. His maxims of government, odious to the Castilians, *ib.* Required by Philip to resign his regency, 11. Joanna's letter of consent procured by him, intercepted by Philip, and herself confined, 12. Is deserted by the Castilian nobility, *ib.* Determines to exclude his daughter from the succession by marrying, 13. Marries Germaine de Foix, niece to Lewis XII. of France, 14. A treaty between him and Philip at Salamanca, by which the regency of Castile is jointly vested in them, and Joanna, 15. Prevails on

I N D E X.

Henry VII. of England to detain Philip for three months, when driven on that coast, 16. The Castilians declare against him, *ib.* Resigns the regency of Castile, by treaty, 17. Interview between him and Philip, *ib.* Is absent, at Naples, when Philip died, 23. Returns and gains with the regency of Castile, the good will of the natives by his prudent administration, 24. Acquires by dishonourable means the kingdom of Navarre, 26. How he destroyed his constitution, 27. Endeavours to diminish his grandson Charles's power, by a will in favour of Ferdinand, *ib.* Alters his will in favour of Charles, 29. Dies, *ib.* Review of his administration, 34. Ximenes appointed by his will, regent of Castile, until the arrival of Charles V. 35.

Ferdinand, second son of Philip Archduke of Austria, born, II. 6. Left regent of Aragon, by his grandfather Ferdinand, 27. This revoked by a subsequent will, by which he obtains only a pension, 29. Discontented with his disappointment, he is taken to Madrid under the eye of Cardinal Ximenes, 39. Sent by Charles V. to visit their grandfather Maximilian, 65. Is elected King of Hungary and Bohemia, 410. Signs a deed called the *Reverse*, *ib.* The Emperor endeavours to get him elected king of the Romans, III. 55. He is opposed by the Protestants, 56. Is crowned King of the Romans, 57. Forms a confederacy against the Anabaptists at Munster, 87. Opposes the restoration of Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, 91. Recognizes his title and concludes a treaty with him, 92. His kingdom of Hungary wrested from him by John Zapol Scaepius, 232. Besieges the young King Stephen and his mother in Buda, but is defeated by the Turks, 235. His mean offers of submission to the Porte, *ib.* Which are rejected, 237. Courts the favour of the Protestants, 279. Opens the diet at Worms, 311. Requires it to submit to the decisions of the council of Trent, 312. Agrees to pay a tribute to Solyman for Hungary, 346. Encroaches on the liberties of Bohemia, 463. His rigorous treatment of Prague, 465. Disarms the Bohemians, *ib.* Obtains the sovereignty of the city of Constance, 497. Invades Transylvania by invitation

I N D E X.

of Martinuzzi, IV. 52. Obtains the resignation of Transylvania from Queen Isabella, 54. Orders Martinuzzi to be assassinated, 57. Enters into negociation with Maurice on behalf of the emperor, 90. His motives for promoting the Emperor's agreeing with Maurice, 96. Isabella and her son Stephen, recover possession of Transylvania, 141. Opens a diet at Augsburgh, and excites suspicions in the Protestants, 192. The Emperor leaves the internal administration of German affairs to him, 196. Is again applied to by the Emperor to resign his pretensions of succession to Philip, but refuses, 197. Endeavours therefore to gain the friendship of the diet, 198. Again refuses the Emperor's solicitations, 254. Charles resigns the Imperial crown to him, 255. Assembles the college of Electors at Frankfort, which acknowledges him Emperor of Germany, 296. The Pope refuses to acknowledge him, 297.

Feudal system, the origin of, deduced, I. 15. The primary object of this policy, 16. Its deficiencies for interior government, 17. Tenures of land, how established under, *ib.* The rise of intestine discords among the barons under, 18. The servile state of the people, 19. The weak authority of the King, *ib.* Its influence on the external operations of war, 20. The general extinction of all arts and sciences effected by, 21. Its operation on religion, 22. Its influence on the character of the human mind, 23. At what time government and manners began to be improved, 24. The causes and events which contributed to this improvement, 25. See *Crusades*. The ancient state of cities under, 36. The frame of national councils under this policy, 43. How altered by the progress of civil liberty, 44. An inquiry into the administration of justice under, 49. Private war, 51. Judicial combat, 57. The independent jurisdictions of the barons, 68. The distinction between freemen and vassals under, 258. How strangers were considered and treated under, 395. A view of, as it existed in Spain, II. 230.

Fiefs, under the feudal system, a history of, I. 260. When they became hereditary. 263.

I N D E X

Fiesco, Count of Lavagna. See *Lavagna*.

— Jerome, engages in his brother's conspiracy, and fails in securing Andrew Doria, III. 412. His imprudent vanity on his brother's death, 414. Shuts himself up in a fort on his estate, 417. Is reduced and put to death, 425.

Fitzstephens, observations on his account of the state of London, at the time of Henry II. I. 317.

Flanders. See *Netherlands*.

Florence, a view of the constitution of, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, I. 163. The influence acquired by Cosmo di Medici in, *ib.* the inhabitants of, revolt against Pope Clement VII. on the news of his captivity, and recover their liberty, III 4. Are reduced to subjection to Alexander di Medici, by the Emperor, 43. Alexander di Medici, Duke of, assassinated by his kinsman Lorenzo, 166. Cosmo di Medici advanced to the sovereignty, 167. Cosmo, supported by the Emperor, defeats the partisans of Lorenzo, 169. Cosmo asserts his independency on the Emperor, IV. 124.

Fonseca, Antonio de, commander in chief of the forces in Spain, ordered by Cardinal Adrian to besiege the insurgents in Segovia, II. 228. Is denied liberty of taking military stores, by the inhabitants of Medina del Campo, *ib.* Attacks and almost burns the whole town, *ib.* Is repulsed, *ib.* His house at Valladolid burnt, 229.

France, by what means the towns in, first obtained charters of community, I. 39. Ordinances of Louis X. and his brother Philip in favour of civil liberty, 48. Methods employed to suppress private wars, 54. St. Louis attempts to discountenance judicial combat, 65. A view of the contests between, and England, 106. The consequences of its recovering its provinces from England, 108. The monarchy of, how strengthened by this event, 110. The rise of standing forces in, 111. The regal prerogative strengthened by this measure, 113. The extension of the regal prerogative vigorously pursued by Louis XI. 116. See *Louis XI*. The effects of the invasion of Italy by

I N D E X.

Charles VIII. 129. See *Charles VIII.* National infantry established in, 138. League of Cambray formed against the Venetians, 141. Battle of Ghiarradda, 142. An inquiry into its ancient government and laws, 197. The power of the general assemblies under the first race of Kings, *ib.* Under the second and third, 198. The regal power confined to the King's own domains, 199. When the general assembly or states general lost their legislative authority, *ib.* When the Kings began to assert their legislative power, 201. When the government of, became purely monarchical, 202. The regal power nevertheless restrained by the privileges of the nobility, *ib.* An inquiry into the jurisdiction of its parliaments, particularly that of Paris, 204. How the allodial property of land there was altered into feudal, 267. The progress of liberty in that kingdom traced, 318. *Note* xix. The attempts to establish liberty there unsuccessful, 320. The last instance of judicial combat recorded in the history of, 358. The present government of, compared with that of ancient Gaul, 430. *Note* xxxviii. The states-general, when first assembled, 447. The acquisitions of that kingdom, during the reign of the Emperor Charles V. IV. 344. The character of the people of, 346. The good consequences of the civil wars in that kingdom to the rest of Europe, 348.

Francis I. of France, his character influenced by the spirit of chivalry, I. 85. Is emulated by the Emperor Charles V. 86. Concludes a peace with Charles V. and the conditions of the treaty, II. 55. Sends a fruitless embassy to Charles for the restitution of Navarre to the young King, 67. Aspires to the Imperial crown at the death of Maximilian, 71. Reasons by which he supported his pretensions, 72. Remarks on the equipages of his ambassadors to the German States, 75. His pretensions adopted by the Venetians, 76. Loses the election, 85. Rise of the rivalry between him and Charles, 98. Courts the favour of Cardinal Wolsey, 106. Promises Wolsey his interest for the Papacy, 108. Has an interview with

I N D E X.

Henry VIII. of England, 109. Wrestles with Henry, and throws him, *ib.* *Note.* His advantages over Charles, at the commencement of hostilities between them, 84. Concludes an alliance with the Pope, 188. Invades and reduces Navarre, in the name of Henry D'Albert, son of John, the former King, 192. The French driven out by the imprudence of L'Esparre their general, who is taken prisoner by the Spaniards, 193. Retakes Mouson from the Imperialists, 197. Invades the Low Countries, but loses the opportunities of success by imprudence, *ib.* Rejects the demands of Charles at the congress at Calais, 198. A league concluded between Charles and Henry VIII. against him, 199. His imprudent appointment of the Marechal de Foix to the government of Milan, 202. De Foix attacks Reggio, but is repulsed by the governor Guicciardini the historian, 203. The Pope declares against him, *ib.* His embarrassments on the invasion of Milan, 205. His mother seizes the money appointed for payment of the Milanese troops, 206. Milan taken, and the French driven out, 208. Levies a body of Swiss, 213. Who insist on giving a precipitate battle to the Imperialists, which is lost, 214. War declared against him by Henry VIII. 216. His expedients to supply his treasury, 217. The plan pursued by him to resist the incursions of the English, 219. Picardy invaded by Henry, *ib.* The Venetians league with the Emperor against him, 272. To which Pope Adrian accedes, *ib.* His expeditious movement against the Milanese, 274. Disconcerted by the Duke of Bourbon's conspiracy, *ib.* Taxes him with betraying his cause, which Bourbon denies, 279. Bourbon escapes to Italy, and Francis returns, *ib.* Appoints the admiral Bonnivet to command against the Milanese, 280. Picardy invaded by the duke of Suffolk, who is driven back, 286. Repulses the invasion of Guienne and Burgundy by Charles, 287. His successful close of the campaign, *ib.* His prudent care to disappoint the Imperialists in their invasion of Provence, 310. Assembles an army, which causes the Imperialists to retire from Marfeilles, *ib.* Determines to invade

I N D E X.

the Milanese, 313. Appoints his mother Louise regent during his absence, *ib.* Enters Milan, and takes possession of the city, 314. Advised by Bonnivet to besiege Pavia, 316. His vigorous attacks on Pavia, 317. Concludes a treaty of neutrality with Pope Clement, 319. His imprudent invasion of Naples, 320. Resolves by Bonnivet's advice to attack Bourbon's army, advanced to the relief of Pavia, 323. Is routed at the battle of Pavia, 324. Is taken prisoner, 326. Is sent to the castle of Pizzichitone under the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, 327. Refuses the propositions made to him by Charles, 339. Is carried to Spain on his desire of a personal interview with Charles, 340. Is rigorously treated in Spain, 349. Falls dangerously ill, 350. Is visited by Charles, 351. Resolves to resign his kingdom, 355. Is delivered from his captivity by the treaty of Madrid, 357. His secret protestations against the validity of this treaty, 359. Marries the Queen of Portugal, 360. Recovers his liberty, and the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans delivered up hostages to Charles for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, 362. Writes a letter of acknowledgment to Henry VIII. of England, 376. His reply to the Imperial ambassadors, 377. Enters into a league with the Pope, the Venetians, and Sforza, against Charles, 379. Is absolved from his oath to observe the treaty of Madrid, 380. His behaviour to the Emperor's second embassy, 383. Is dispirited by his former ill success, 384. Enters into a treaty with Henry VIII. of England against the Emperor, III. 3. Successes of his general Lautrec in Italy, 7. His reply to the Emperor's overtures, 13. Declares war against him, and challenges him to single combat, 14. Treats Andrew Doria ill, who revolts from him to the Emperor, 22. His army, under Saluces, driven out of Italy, 24. His troops in Milan routed, 28. His endeavours toward an accommodation, 29. Terms of the peace of Cambray, concluded by the mediation of his mother Louise and Margaret of Austria, 32. Remarks on the sacrifices made by him in this treaty, and on his conduct of the war, 33. Leagues secretly with the Prote-

I N D E X.

stant Princes, 57. His measures to elude the treaty of
 Cambray, 68. His negociations with the Pope, 69. His
 interview and treaty with the Pope, 71. Gives the Duke of
 Orleans in marriage to Catherine di Medici, *ib.* Nego-
 ciates a treaty with Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, 116.
 His envoy Merveille executed at Milan for murder, 117. Is
 disappointed in his endeavours to negotiate alliances
 against the Emperor, 118. Invites Melancthon to Paris, 119.
 Evidences his zeal for the Romish religion, 120. Causes of
 his quarrel with the Duke of Savoy, 123. Seizes the Duke's
 territories, 124. His pretensions to the duchy of Milan, on
 the death of Francis Sforza, 130. The Emperor's invective
 against him before the Pope in council, 133. Is in-
 vaded by Charles, 138. His prudent plan of defence,
 142. Joins the army under Montmorency, 148. Death
 of the Dauphin, 150. Obtains a decree of the par-
 liament of Paris, against the Emperor, 153. Invades
 the Low Countries, 154. A suspension of arms in
 Flanders, and how negociated, 155. A truce in Piedmont,
 156. Motives to these truces, 157. Concludes an alliance
 with Solyman the Magnificent, 158. Negotiations for
 a peace with the Emperor, 160. Concludes a truce for
 ten years at Nice, 162. Reflections on the war, *ib.* His
 interview with Charles, 163. Marries Mary of Guise to
 James V. of Scotland, 171. Refuses the offers of the
 deputies of Ghent, 192. Informs Charles of the offer
 made by them, 193. Grants the Emperor leave to pass
 through France to the Netherlands, 195. His reception
 of the Emperor, 197. Is deceived by the Emperor in
 respect to Milan, 201. His ambassador to the Porte,
 Rincon, murdered by the Imperial governor of the
 Milanese, 253. Prepares to resent the injury, 254.
 Attacks the Emperor with five armies, 257. His first
 attempts rendered abortive, by the imprudence of the
 Duke of Orleans, 259. Renews his negociations with
 Sultan Solyman, 267. Invades the Low Countries, 268.
 Forces the Emperor to raise the siege of Landrecy, 271.
 Dismisses Barbarossa, 288. Gives the count d'Enguien
 permission

I N D E X.

permission to engage Gualto, 290. Relieves Paris, in danger of being surpris'd by the Emperor, 300. Agrees to a separate peace with Charles, 301. Henry's haughty return to his overtures of peace, 307. Death of the Duke of Orleans, 319. Peace of Campe, 381. Perceives a necessity of checking the Emperor's ambitious designs, 420. Forms a general league against him, *ib.* Dies, 425. His life and character summarily compared with those of Charles, 426. Consequences of his death, 430.

Francis II. his accession to the crown of France and character, IV. 335.

Frankfort, the diet of, assembled for the choice of an Emperor at the death of Maximilian, II. 80. Names and views of the Electors, *ib.* The Empire offered to Frederick of Saxony, 81. Who rejects it, with his reasons, 82. Chooses Charles V. Emperor, 85. His confirmation of the Germanick privileges required and agreed to, 86. City of, embraces the reformed religion, 295. The college of Electors assembled there by Ferdinand, who is acknowledged Emperor of Germany, IV. 296.

Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor, the free cities of Italy unite against him, I. 300. Treaty of Constance with them, *ib.* Was the first who granted privileges to the cities, in Germany, 313.

Frederick duke of Saxony, assembles with the other Electors at the diet of Frankfort, to choose an Emperor, II. 80. The Empire offered to him; 81. Rejects it, and votes for Charles V. 82. Refuses the presents of the Spanish ambassadors; 83. This disinterested behaviour confirmed by the testimony of historians, *ib.* Note. Chooses Martin Luther philosophical professor at his university of Wittemberg, 120. Encourages Luther in his opposition to indulgences, 123. Protects him against Cajetan, 131. Causes Luther to be seized at his return from the diet of Worms, and conceals him at Wartburgh, 180. Dies, 374.

I N D E X.

- Fredum*, in the ancient German usages explained, I. 361.
- Freemen*, how distinguished from vassals, under the feudal policy, I. 258, 275. Why often induced to surrender their freedom, and become slaves, 277.
- Fregoso*, the French ambassador to Venice, murdered by the Marquis del Guasto, the Imperial governor of the Milanese, III. 253.
- Fronspurg*, George, a German nobleman, some account of, he joins the army of Charles V. II. 390.
- Fulcherius Carnotensis*, his character of the city of Constantinople, I. 294.

G.

- Gaul*, how allodial property of land was changed into feudal there, I. 267. The government of, compared with that of modern France, 430. *Note xxxviii.* The small authority the Kings of, enjoyed over their armies illustrated in an anecdote of Clotaire I. 431. Account of the popular assemblies of, 432. The salic laws how enacted, 434. Were not subject to taxation, 435. See *France*.
- General* of the Jesuits, an enquiry into his office and despotic authority, III. 208.
- Geneva*, an account of its revolt against the Duke of Savoy, III. 125.
- Genoa*, reduced by Lautrec, the French general, III. 7. The French endeavour to prejudice its trade in favour of Savona, 21. Is rescued from the French by Andrew Doria, 25. The government of, settled by the disinterestedness of Doria, 26. The honour paid to Doria's memory, 27. Is visited by the Emperor, 39. A scheme formed to overturn the constitution of, by Fiesco, count of Lavagno, 404. He assembles his adherents, 408. The conspirators sally forth from Lavagno's palace, 412. Deputies sent to know Lavagno's terms, 413. Lavagno drowned, 414. The insurrection ruined by the imprudence of his brother Jerome Fiesco, *ib.* The conspirators disperse, 415. Jerome reduced and put to death, 425.

I N D E X.

Geoffrey de Villehardouin, his account of the magnificence of Constantinople at the time when taken by the Crusaders, I. 295.

Germanada, an association in Valencia, so termed, on what occasion formed, II. 263. Refuse to lay down their arms, *ib.* Their resentment levelled at the nobility, who raise an army against them, 264. Defeat the nobles in several actions, 265. But are routed and dispersed by them, *ib.*

Germans, ancient, an account of their usages and way of life, I. 247. Their method of engaging in war, *ib.* A comparison between them and the North American Indians, 250. Why they had no cities, 312, *Note xvii.* The practice of compounding for personal injuries by fines, deduced from their usages, 360.

Germany, little interested in foreign concerns at the beginning of the fifteenth century, I. 107. National infantry established in, 137. State of, under Charlemagne and his descendants, 206. Conrad, count of Franconia, chosen Emperor, 207. His successors in the Imperial dignity, *ib.* How the nobility of, acquired independent sovereign authority, 208. The fatal effects of aggrandizing the clergy in, 209. The contests between the Emperor Henry IV. and Pope Gregory VII. 210. Rise of the factions of Guelfs and Ghibelines, 211. Decline of the Imperial authority, *ib.* The house of Austria, by whom founded, 212. A total change in the political constitution of the Empire, *ib.* The state of anarchy in which it continued to the time of Maximilian the immediate predecessor of Charles V. 213. Divided into circles, 214. The Imperial chamber instituted, *ib.* The Aulic council reformed, 215. A view of its political constitution at the commencement of the ensuing history, *ib.* Its defects pointed out, 216. The Imperial dignity and power compared, 217. Election of the Emperors, 219. The repugnant forms of civil policy in the several States of, 220. The opposition between the secular and ecclesiastical members of, 221. The united body hence incapable of

I N D E X

acting with vigour, 222. When cities first began to be built in, 311, *Note* xvii. When the cities of, first acquired municipal privileges, 313. The artizans of, when enfranchised, 314. *Immediate* cities in the German jurisprudence, what, 315. The great calamities occasioned there by private wars, 346. Origin of the league of the Rhine, 347. When private wars were finally abolished there, *ib.* Inquiry into the power, jurisdiction, and revenue of its Emperors, 453, *Note* xlii. The ancient mode of electing the Emperors, 459. Account of the diets, 463. State of, at the death of the Emperor Maximilian, II. 69. Charles V. of Spain, and Francis I. of France, form pretensions to the Imperial crown, 71. Their respective reasons offered in favour of their claims, 72, 73. Views and interests of the other European States in relation to the competitors, 75. Henry VIII. of England, advances a claim, 76. But is discouraged from prosecuting it, 77. How the Papacy was likely to be affected in the choice of an Emperor, 78. Advice of Pope Leo X. to the German Princes, *ib.* Opening of the diet at Frankfort, 80. In whom the election of an Emperor is vested, *ib.* Views of the Electors. *ib.* The Empire offered to Frederick of Saxony, 81. Who rejects it, and his reasons, *ib.* Charles V. chosen, 85. The capitulation of the Germanick privileges confirmed by him, 86. Charles sets out for, 96. Charles crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, 111. Commencement of the Reformation there, by Martin Luther, 113. Treatment of the bull of excommunication published against Luther, 140. The usurpations of the clergy there, during the disputes concerning investitures, 155. The clergy of, mostly foreigners, 161. The benefices of, nominated by the Pope, 162. The expedient of the Emperors for restraining this power of the Pope, ineffectual, 163. The great progress of Luther's doctrines in, 295. Grievances of the peasants, 364. Insurrection in Suabia, 365. The memorial of their grievances, 366. The insurrection quelled, 367. Another insurrection in Thuringia, *ib.*

I N D E X.

- How the house of Austria became so formidable in, 411. Proceedings relating to the Reformation there, *ib.* Great progress of the Reformation there, III. 44. Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia, brother to Charles V. elected King of the Romans, 57. The Protestant religion established in Saxony, 179. The Protestant religion established in the Palatinate, 323. The league of Smalkalde raise an army against the Emperor, 363. Are put under the ban of the Empire, 367. The Protestant army dispersed, 391. The *Interim* enforced by the Emperor, 492. Maurice of Saxony raises an army, and declares in favour of the Protestants, IV. 71. Maurice favoured even by the Catholic princes, and why, 92. Treaty of Passau, between the Emperor and Maurice of Saxony, 102. Truce between the Emperor and Henry of France, 239. Charles resigns the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand, 256.
- Ghent*, an insurrection there, III. 186. The pretensions of the citizens, 187. Form a confederacy against the Queen-dowager of Hungary, their governess, 188. Their deputies to the Emperor, how created by him, *ib.* Offer to submit to France, 189. Is reduced by Charles, 199.
- Ghiarradda*, the battle of, fatal to the Venetians, I. 142.
- Ghibeline*, faction, in Italy, a view of, II. 387.
- Giron*, Don Pedro de, appointed to the command of the army of the Holy Junta, II. 245. Resigns his commission, and Padilla replaced, 278.
- Glanville*, Lord Chief Justice, the first who compiled a body of common law, in all Europe, I. 382.
- Goletta* in Africa, taken by the Emperor Charles V. III. 107.
- Gonzaga*, the Imperial governor of Milan, procures Cardinal Farnese to be assassinated, and takes possession of Placentia for the Emperor, III. 472. Prepares to seize Parma, IV. 32. Is repulsed by the French, 36.
- Goths*, Vandals, and Huns, over-run the Roman empire, and precipitate its downfall, I. 4. The state of the coun-

I N D E X.

tries from whence they issued, 5. The motives of their first excursions, 6. How they came to settle in the countries they conquered, 7. A comparison drawn between them and the Romans, at the period of their irruptions, 8, & *seq.* Compared with the native Americans, 10. The desolations they occasioned in Europe, 11. The universal change made by them in the state of Europe, 12. The principles on which they made their settlements, 14. Origin of the feudal system, 15. See *Feudal System*. An inquiry into the administration of justice among, 50. Their private wars, 51. Destroy the monuments of the Roman arts, 87. Their contempt of the Romans, and hatred of their arts, 234, *Note ii.* Their aversion to literature, *ib.* No authentic account of their origin, or ancient history existing, 235.

Government, how limited by the feudal policy, I. 18. The effects of the Crusades on, 33. How affected by the enfranchisement of cities, 41. Legislative assemblies how formed, 43. Private wars destructive to the authority of, 54. Methods employed to abolish this hostile mode of redressing injuries, 55. How affected by the supreme independent jurisdictions of the barons, 68. The steps towards abolishing them, 71. The origin and growth of royal Courts of Justice, 73. How influenced by the revival of science and literature, 91. A view of, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, 100. The power of Monarchs then very limited, 101. Their revenues small, *ib.* Their armies unfit for conquest, 102. The Princes hence incapable of extensive plans of operation, 104. The kingdoms very little connected with each other, 105. How the efforts of, from this period became more powerful and extensive, 108. The consequences of England losing its provinces in France, 109. The schemes of Louis XI. of France to extend the regal power, 116. See *Louis XI.* The power of the English crown enlarged, 122. See *Henry VII.* As also that of Spain, 123. How the use of standing armies became general, 134. A view of the political constitution of the

I N D E X.

- several states of Europe, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, 148. In what respects the charters of communities granted by the Kings of France, tended to introduce a regular form of, 303.
- Gouffer*, sent by Francis I. King of France, to negotiate a peace with Charles V. II. 55.
- Granvelle*, Cardinal, his artifice to prevail on the count de Sancerre to surrender St. Disiere. to the Emperor, III. 287. Endeavours to lull the Protestants into security with regard to the Emperor's conduct toward them, 332. Is commissioned by Philip to address the assembly at the Emperor's resignation of his hereditary dominions, IV. 234.
- Gravelines*, an interview there between the Emperor Charles V. and Henry VIII. of England, II. 110.
- Grapper*, canon of Cologne, is appointed a manager of the Protestant and Catholic conferences before the diet at Ratisbon, III. 227. Writes a treatise to compose the differences between them, *ib.* The sentiments of both parties on this work, 228.
- Granada*, archbishop of, president of the council of Castile, his imprudent advice to Cardinal Adrian, relating to the insurrection in Segovia, II. 227.
- Greece*, the breeding of silk-worms, when introduced there, I. 400.
- Greek* Emperors, their magnificence at Constantinople, I. 293.
- Gregory* of Tours, remarks on the state of Europe during the period of which he wrote the history, I. 24.
- the Great, Pope, his reason for granting liberty to his slaves, I. 322.
- VII. Pope, the foundation of his contests with Henry IV. Emperor of Germany, I. 210. The mean submission he extorted from Henry, 211. His own account of this affair, 454.
- Guaſto*, the Marquis del, appointed governor of Milan, by the Emperor, III. 149. Procures Rincon the French ambassador to the Porte, to be murdered on his journey thither, 253. Defends Carignan against the French, 289. Defeated by d'Enguien in a pitched battle, 292.

I N D E X.

Guelfs, and Ghibelines, rise of those factions in Germany, I. 211.
Guicciardini, the historian, instance of his superstitious reverence for Pope Clement VII. I. 159. *Note*. His account of the publication of Indulgences contradicted, II. 125. Defends Reggio against the French, 203. Repulses an attack upon Parma, by the French, 210. His sentiments of the Pope's treaty with Lannoy viceroy of Naples, 398.

Guise, Francis of Lorraine, Duke of, is made governor of Metz by Henry II. of France, IV. 113. His character, *ib*. Prepares to defend it against the Emperor, *ib*. His brother d'Aumale taken prisoner by the Imperialists, 118. The Emperor raises the siege, 122. His humane treatment of the distressed and sick Germans left behind, 123. Persuades Henry to an alliance with Pope Paul IV. 219. Marches with troops into Italy, 261. Is unable to effect any thing, 262. Is recalled from Italy after the defeat of St. Quintin, 284. His reception in France, 289. Takes the field against Philip, *ib*. Invests and takes Calais from the English, 294. Takes also Guisnes and Hames, *ib*. Takes Thionville in Luxemburgh, 302.

Guise, Mary of, married to James V. of Scotland, III. 171. Frustrates the intended marriage between her daughter Mary, and prince Edward of England, 287.

Guntherus, a Monk, his character of Constantinople, at the time when taken by the Crusaders, I. 394.

Gurk, Cardinal de, why he favoured the election of Charles V. to the Imperial crown, II. 84. Signs the capitulation of the Germanic body on behalf of Charles, 86.

Gusman, chancellor to the Emperor Ferdinand, is sent to Pope Paul IV. to notify the election, who refuses to see him, IV. 297.

H.

Hamburgh, city of, embraces the reformed religion, II. 295.

I N D E X.

Hanseatic league, when formed, and its influence on the extension of commerce, I. 95, 406.

Haro, the conde de, appointed to command the army of the Castilian nobles against the Holy Junta, II. 247. Attacks Tordesillas, and gets possession of Queen Joanna, *ib.* Routs the army of the Junta, and takes Padilla prisoner, who is executed, 256.

Hascen Aga, deputy governor of Algiers, his piracies against the Christian states, III. 239. Is besieged in Algiers by the Emperor Charles V. 243. Makes a successful sally, 245. The Emperor forced by bad weather to return back again, 248.

Hayradin, a potter's son of Lesbos, commences pirate, III. 97. See *Barbarossa*.

Heathens, ancient, why the principles of mutual toleration were generally admitted among them, IV. 202.

Heldo, vice-chancellor to Charles V. attends the Pope's nuncio to Smalkalde, III. 174. Forms a Catholic league in opposition to the Protestant one, 177.

Henry II. King of France, his motives for declining an alliance with Pope Paul III. against the Emperor, III. 475. Procures for Scotland a peace with England, IV. 34. The young Queen Mary contracted to the Dauphin, and sent to France for education, *ib.* Enters into an alliance with Octavio Farnese Duke of Parma, 35. Protests against the council of Trent, 36. Makes alliance with Maurice Elector of Saxony, 60. Seconds the operations of Maurice, 72. His army marches and seizes Metz, 75. Attempts to surprise Strasburgh, 86. Is strongly solicited to spare it, 87. Returns, 88. The Emperor prepares for war against him, 112. Instigates the Turks to invade Naples, 127. Terrouane taken and demolished by Charles, 138. Hesdin taken, *ib.* Leads an army into the Low-Countries against Charles, 139. Endeavours to obstruct the marriage of Mary of England with Philip of Spain, 164. The progress of his arms against the Emperor, 166. Engages Charles, 168. Retires, *ib.* Cosmo di Medici duke of Florence, makes

I N D E X.

- war against him, 171. Appoints Peter Strozzi commander of his army in Italy, 173. Strozzi defeated, 176. Siena taken, 178. Pope Paul IV. makes overtures to an alliance with him against the Emperor, 217. Montmorency's arguments against this alliance, *ib.* Is persuaded by the Guises to accept it, 218. Sends the Cardinal of Lorraine with powers to conclude it, 219. The Pope signs the treaty, 223. A truce for five years concluded with the Emperor, 239. Is exhorted by Cardinal Caraffa, to break the truce, 243. Is absolved from his oath, and concludes a new treaty with the Pope, 246. Sends the duke of Guise into Italy, 264. The Constable Montmorency defeated and taken prisoner at St. Quintin, 273. Henry prepares for the defence of Paris, 276. St. Quintin taken by assault, 279. Collects his troops and negotiates for assistance, *ib.* His kind reception of the duke of Guise, 289. Calais taken by Guise, 294. Impowers Montmorency to negotiate a peace with Philip, 309. Honours him highly on his return to France, 310. Writes to Queen Elizabeth with proposals of marriage, 323. How he failed in his suit, 324. His daughter married to Philip, and his sister to the duke of Savoy, 331. Terms of the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, 332. The marriage of his sister and daughter celebrated with great pomp, 334. His death, *ib.*
- Henry IV. of Castile**, solemnly tried and deposed by an assembly of Castilian nobles, I. 179.
- Emperor of Germany, the humiliating state to which he was reduced by Pope Gregory VII. I. 210, 454. *Note xli.*
- VII, of England, his situation at his accession to the crown, I. 123. Enables his barons to break their entails and sell their estates, *ib.* Prohibits his barons keeping retainers, *ib.* Encourages agriculture and commerce, *ib.* Detains the archduke Philip and his duchess when driven on his coast, three months, at the instigation of Ferdinand, II. 16.
- Henry VIII. of England**, sends an ambassador to Germany to propose his claims to the Imperial crown, II. 77. Is

I N D E X.

discouraged from his pretensions, and takes no part with the other competitors, *ib.* His personal character and political influence in Europe, 102. Entirely guided by Cardinal Wolsey, 104. Receives a visit from the Emperor Charles V. 108. Goes over to France to visit Francis, 109. Wrestles with Francis, and is thrown by him, *ib.* *Note.* Has another interview with Charles at Gravelines, 110. Charles offers to submit his differences with Francis to his arbitration, 111. Publishes a treatise on the Seven Sacraments, against Martin Luther, 182. Obtains of the Pope the title of *Defender of the Faith*, 183. Takes part with Charles against Francis, 185. Sends Wolsey to negotiate an accommodation between the Emperor and Francis, 197. Concludes a league with Charles against Francis, 199. His avowed reasons for this treaty, *ib.* His private motives, 200. Declares war against Francis, 216. Is visited by Charles, 217. Makes descents upon the coast of France, 218. Advances with an army into Picardy, 219. Obligated to retire by the duke de Vendome, *ib.* Enters into a treaty with the Emperor and Charles duke of Bourbon, 277. How he raised supplies for his wars beyond the grants of his parliament, 286. Sends the duke of Suffolk to invade Picardy, who penetrates almost to Paris, but is driven back, 287. Engages to assist Charles in an invasion of Provence, 308. Causes of his not supporting the Imperialists, 311. Effects of the battle of Pavia, and captivity of Francis, on him, 331. Particulars of his embassy to Charles, 333. Concludes a defensive alliance with France, 341. Is declared Protector of the league of Cognac against the Emperor, 379. His motives for assisting the Pope against the Emperor, III. 2. Enters into a league with Francis, and renounces the English claim to the crown of France, 4. Declares war against the Emperor, 14. Concludes a truce with the governors of the Low-Countries, 20. Projects his divorce from Catharine of Aragon, 36. Motives which withheld the Pope from granting it, 37. Ac-

I N D E X.

- quiesces in the peace of Cambray, 38. Sends a supply of money to the Protestant league in Germany, 59. Procures his marriage to be annulled by Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, 72. The divorce reversed by the Pope under penalty of excommunication, 73. Renounces the Papal supremacy, *ib.* Refuses to acknowledge any council called by the Pope, 94. Opposes James V. of Scotland marrying Mary of Guise, 171. His disgusts with Francis and intercourse with the Emperor, *ib.* Concludes a league with Charles, 263. Makes war with Scotland, 264. Particulars of his treaty with Charles, 265. Invades France and invests Boulogne, 296. Refuses the Emperor's plan of operations 300. Is deserted by the Emperor, 306. Takes Boulogne, *ib.* His haughty proposals to Francis, 307. Peace of Campe, 361. Is succeeded by his son Edward VI. 422. A review of his policy, IV. 349.
- Herebannum*, the nature of this fine under the feudal policy, explained, I. 259.
- Hermidad*, Santa, account of that institution, I. 430.
- Hertford*, earl of, plunders and burns Edinburgh, III. 295. Joins Henry after, in his invasions of France, *ib.*
- Hesse*, the Landgrave of, procures the restoration of his kinsman, Ulric duke of Wurtemberg, III. 91. His views compared with those of the Elector of Saxony, 329. The Emperor's deceitful professions to him, 341. Quiets the apprehensions of the Protestant league with regard to the Emperor, *ib.* Is appointed joint commander of the army of the league with the Elector of Saxony, 371. Their characters compared, *ib.* Urges an attack of the Emperor, but is opposed by the Elector, 376. His letter to Maurice duke of Saxony, 387. The army of the league disperse, 391. Is reduced to accept harsh terms from Charles, 450. His humiliating reception by the Emperor, 454. Is detained in confinement, 456. His offers of submission flighted by the Emperor, 490. Is carried by the Emperor with him into the Netherlands, 494. Renews his endea-

I N D E X.

vours for liberty, IV. 25. Charles releases arbitrarily the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, from their engagements to him, *ib.* Obtains his liberty by the treaty of Passau, 102. Is arrested by the Queen of Hungary, but freed by the Emperor, 109. The effects of his confinement on him, *ib.*

Heuterus, his account of Lewis XII. shewn to contradict the relations given by Bellay and other French historians of the education of Charles V. II. 30. *Note.*

History, the most calamitous period of, pointed out, I. 11.

Holy Brotherhood, an association in Spain under that name, on what occasion formed, I. 195. See *Junta.*

—— Land, the original inducements of the Christians to rescue it from the hands of the Infidels, I. 26. See *Crusades*, and *Peter the Hermit.*

—— *League*, against the Emperor Charles V. formed at Cognac, under the protection of Henry VIII. of England, II. 379.

Honour, points of the ancient Swedish law for determining, I. 350.

Horuc, a potter's son of Lesbos, commences pirate, with his brother Hayradin, III. 97. See *Barbarossa.*

Hospitality, enforced by statutes during the middle ages, I. 393.

Hungary, is invaded by Solyman the Magnificent, and its King Lewis II. killed, II. 409. His successes, and the number of prisoners carried away, *ib.* The archduke Ferdinand elected King of, together with Bohemia, 410. John Zapol Scaepius wrests it from Ferdinand, 232. Stephen succeeds on the death of his father John, 233. Is treacherously seized by Solyman, 236. See *Isabella*, and *Martinuzzi.*

Huns, instance of their enthusiastick passion for war, I. 235, *Note iii.* Some account of their policy and manners, 240, 247. See *Goths.*

I N D E X

I.

- James V.* of Scotland, levies troops to assist Francis in Provence, but his intention frustrated, III. 170. His negociations for marriage with Francis's daughter, *ib.* Marries Mary of Guise, 171. Dies, and leaves Mary his infant daughter to succeed him, 264. See *Mary.*
- Janizaries*, origin, and formidable nature of those troops, I. 226.
- Jesuits*, the order of, by whom founded, II. 192. Character of that order, *ib.* Character of Ignatio Loyola their founder, III. 204. The order confirmed by the Pope, 205. An examination into the constitution of the order, 206. Office and power of their general, 208. The rapid progress of the order, 212. Engage in trade, and establish an empire in South America, 214. Bad tendency of the order, 216. Are responsible for most of the pernicious effects of Popery since their institution, 217. Advantages resulting from their institution, *ib.* Civilize the natives of Paraguay, 219. Their precautions for the independency of their empire there, 221. How the particulars of their government and institution came to be disclosed, 224. Summary of their character, 225.
- Imperial* chamber of Germany, instituted, I. 214. The occasion of its institution, 425.
- Indians*, North American, a comparison drawn between them and the ancient Germans, I. 250.
- Indulgences*, in the Romish church, the doctrine of, explained, II. 115. By whom first invented, 116. Martin Luther preaches against them, 121. Writes against them to Albert Elector of Mentz, 122. A bull issued in favour of, 135. The sale of, opposed in Switzerland by Zuinglius, 137.
- Industry*, the spirit of, how excited by the enfranchisements of cities, I. 41.
- Infantado*, duke of, his haughty resentment of a casual blow on his horse, III. 185. Is protected by the Constable of Castile, *ib.*

I N D E X.

Infantry, the advantages of, beyond cavalry, taught to the rest of Europe by the Swifs, I. 137. National bodies of, established in Germany, *ib.* In France and Spain *ib.*

Inheritance, and right of representation, between orphan grandsons and their uncles, how decided in the tenth century, I. 352.

Innocent, a young domestic of Cardinal di Monte, obtains his Cardinal's hat, on his election to the Papacy, IV. 7.

Interest of money, the necessity of admitting, in a commercial view, I. 402. Preposterously condemned by the churchmen of the middle ages, *ib.* The cause hence, of the exorbitant exactions of the Lombard bankers, *ib.*

Interim, a system of theology so called, prepared by order of the emperor Charles V. for the use of Germany, III. 481. Is disapproved of, both by Protestants and Papists, 485.

Investitures, usurpations of the Romish clergy in Germany, during the disputes between the Emperors and Popes, concerning, II. 155.

Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand, and mother of Charles V. visits Spain with her husband Philip archduke of Austria, II. 4. Is slighted by her husband, 5. Her character, *ib.* Is abruptly left in Spain by her husband, *ib.* Sinks into melancholy on the occasion, and is delivered of her second son Ferdinand, 6. Her letter of consent to her father's regency of Castile intercepted, and herself confined, 12. Made joint regent of Castile with Ferdinand and Philip, by the treaty of Salamanca, 15. Sets out for Spain with Philip, are driven on the coast of England and detained three months by Henry VII. 16. Acknowledged Queen by the Cortes, 19. Her tendernefs to her husband in his sickness, and extraordinary attachment to his body when dead, 20. Is incapable of government, 21. Her son Charles assumes the crown, 40. The Cortes acknowledge her son King, with a reservation in her favour, 66. Her reception of Padilla the chief of the Spanish malecontents, 233.

I N D E X,

The holy Junta removed to Tordefillas, the place of her residence, 234. Relapses into her former melancholy, *ib.* The proceedings of the Holy Junta carried on in her name, 235. Is seized by the Conde de Haro, 247. Dies, after near fifty years confinement, IV. 229.

John Zapol Scaepius, by the assistance of Sultan Solyman, establishes himself in the kingdom of Hungary, III. 232. Leaves the kingdom to his son Stephen, 233. See *Hungary*, *Isabella*, and *Martinuzzi*.

Isabella, daughter of John II. of Castile, and wife of Ferdinand King of Aragon, her history, II. 2. Her concern at the archduke Philip's treatment of her daughter Joanna, 5. Her death and character, 7. Appoints Ferdinand regent of Castile under restrictions, 8. — daughter to Sigismund King of Poland, married to John King of Hungary, III. 233. Her character, 234. Is treacherously carried with her infant son into Transylvania by Sultan Solyman, 236. The government of this province and the education of her son committed to her jointly with Martinuzzi, IV. 51. Is jealous of Martinuzzi's influence, and courts the Turks. *ib.* Is prevailed on to resign Transylvania to Ferdinand, 54. Retires to Silesia, *ib.* Recovers possession of Transylvania, 141.

— of Portugal, married to the Emperor Charles V. II. 362.

Italy, when the cities of, began to form themselves into bodies politick, I. 38. Commerce first improved there, and the reasons of it, 93. The revolutions in Europe occasioned by the invasion of, by Charles VIII. of France, 129. The state of, at the time of this invasion, 130. The rapid success of Charles, 132. A combination of the States of, drives Charles out of, and gives birth to the balance of power in Europe, 133. The political situation of, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, 148. The papacy, 149. Venice, 159. Florence, 163. Naples, 164. Milan, 168. Evidences of the desolation

I N D E X.

desolation made there by the northern invaders of the Roman Empire, 242. How the cities of, obtained their municipal privileges, 296, *Note xv.* State of, under Frederick I. 297. Treaty of Constance between the free cities of, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, 300. Consequences of the league between Pope Leo X. and the Emperor Charles V. to, II. 201. The characters of the Italians, Spaniards, and French, contrasted, *ib.* State of, at the accession of Clement VII. to the Papacy, 288. Views of the Italian States with respect to the Emperor and Francis on the expulsion of the French from Genoa and the Milanese, 307. Their apprehensions on the battle of Pavia and captivity of Francis, 334. The principal States join in the Holy league against the Emperor, 379. Are disgusted at the tardiness of Francis, 386. A view of the Ghibeline faction, 387. Sentiments of the States of, on the peace of Cambray, III. 35. Is visited by the Emperor Charles, 38. The motives of his moderation toward the States of, 40. A league among the States of, formed by Charles, 67. Placentia granted to Octavio Farnese by Philip II. of Spain, 285. The investiture of Siena given by Philip to Cosmo di Medici, 288. The consequence of these grants, *ib.*

Judgment of God, modes of acquittal by, in the law proceedings during the middle ages, I. 59, 348, *Note xxii.*

Judicium Crucis, method of trial by, I. 348.

Julius II. Pope, forms a confederacy against the Venetians at Cambray, I. 141. Seizes part of the Venetian territories, 142. The confederacy dissolved, *ib.* Turns his schemes against France, 143. Observations on the pontificate of, II. 149.

——— III. Pope, his character, IV. 6. Bestows his Cardinal's hat infamously, 7. Is averse to the calling a council, 9. Summons one at Trent, 10. Asserts his supreme authority peremptorily in the bull for it, 22. Repents confirming Octavio Farnese in Parma, 32. Requires Octavio to relinquish his alliance with France, 35. The manner of his death, 194.

I N D E X.

Junta, Holy, a view of the confederacy in Spain, so termed, II. 231. The authority of Adrian disclaimed by, 232. Removed to Tordesillas, where Queen Joanna resided, 234. Their proceedings carried on in the name of Joanna, 235. Receives letters from Charles to lay down their arms, with promises of pardon, 236. Remonstrance of grievances drawn up by, 237. The particulars of this remonstrance, 238. Remarks on the spirit of it, 242. Are intimidated from presenting it to Charles, 244. Propose to deprive Charles of his royalty during the life of Joanna, *ib.* Take the field, 245. Character of their army, *ib.* The Queen seized by the Conde de Haro, 247. How they obtained money to support their army, 249. Lose time in negotiating with the nobles, 250. Propose to make their peace with Charles at the expence of the nobles, 252. Their irresolute conduct, 253. Their army defeated by Haro, and Padilla taken prisoner, 255. Padilla executed, 256. His letters to his wife, and the city of Toledo, 257. The ruin of the confederacy, 258.

Jurisprudence, ecclesiastical, more perfect in its plan than the civil courts of the middle ages, I. 55. See *Law*.

Justice, an inquiry into the administration of, under the feudal policy, I. 50. The steps toward the improvement of, as civil liberty advanced, 51. Redress chiefly pursued by private wars, 52. Methods taken to suppress private wars, 54. Judicial combats prohibited, 56. The defects of judicial proceedings in the middle ages, *ib.* Compurgators, the nature of that kind of evidence, 58. Methods of trial by ordeal, or acquittal by Judgment of God, 59. Origin of the supreme independent jurisdictions of the feudal barons, 68. The extent and bad effects of their privileges, 69. The steps taken by monarchs to reduce the barons courts, 71. The growth of royal courts of justice, 72. Inquiry into the canon law, 74. How improved by the revival of the Roman law, 78. When the administration of, became a distinct profession, 81.

I N D E X.

Justiza, or supreme judge of Aragon, his office and privileges, I. 181. An inquiry by whom this officer was elected, 409. Who was eligible to this office, 410. Nature of the tribunal appointed to control his administration, 412. Instance of his extensive power, *ib.*

K.

King, his power how circumscribed by the barons, under the feudal system, I. 19. By what means the Crusades tended to enlarge the regal authority, 33. *Koran*, its influence in checking the Sultans of the Ottoman empire, I. 226.

L.

La Chau, a Flemish gentleman, associated by Charles V. with Cardinal Ximenes in the regency of Castile, II. 49.

Land, how held at the establishment of the feudal system, I. 17. See *Feudal system*. The property of, how considered by the ancient barbarous nations, I. 255; *Note viii.* Allodial possession of, explained, 256. The proprietors how subjected to military service, 257. Allodial and beneficiary possession distinguished, 258. Allodial property why generally converted into feudal, 266.

Landrecy, siege of, by the Emperor Charles V. III. 270. Is abandoned by him, 271.

Lannoy, mortgages the revenues of Naples, to supply the exigencies of the Emperor, II. 315. Francis surrenders himself prisoner to him at the battle of Pavia, 326. His cautious disposal of him, 327. Delivers him up in pursuance of the treaty of Madrid, and receives the Duke of Orleans and the Dauphin, as hostages in exchange, 362. Is sent ambassador to Francis to require his fulfilment of the treaty of, 382. Concludes a treaty with the Pope, 398. Marches to join the Imperialists at Rome, where the troops refuse to obey him, III. 5.

I N D E X.

- Lanuza*, Don John de, made viceroy of Aragon, on the departure of Charles V. for Germany, II. 95. Composes the disturbances there, 265.
- Lavagna*, John Lewis Fiesco, count of, his character, III. 403. Meditates subverting the government of Genoa, 404. His preparations, 405. His artful method of assembling his adherents, 408. His exhortation to them, 409. His interview with his wife, 410. Sallies forth, 412. Andrew Doria escapes, 413. Deputies sent to know his terms, *ib.* Is drowned, 414. His brother's vanity ruins their design, *ib.* See *Fiesco*.
- Lautrec*, Odet de Foix, marechal de, the French governor of Milan, his character, II. 202. Alienates the affections of the Milanese from the French, *ib.* Invests Reggio, but is repulsed by Guicciardini the historian, then governor, 203. Is excommunicated by the Pope, 204. The money for paying his troops, seized by Louise of Savoy, 206. Is left by his Swiss troops 207. Is driven out of the Milanese territories, 209. A new body of Swiss under him insist on giving battle to the Imperialists, who defeat him, 214. The Swiss leave him, 215. Retires into France with the residue of his troops, *ib.* Delivers up the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans, in exchange for Francis I. as hostages for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, 262. Is appointed generalissimo of the league against the Emperor, III. 6. His successes in Italy, 7. Motives which withheld him from subduing the Milanese, 8. Obliges the Prince of Orange to retire to Naples, 17. Blockades Naples, 18. His army wasted, and himself killed by the pestilence, 24.
- Law*, when the study of it became a distinct employment, I. 81.
- Canon, an inquiry into, I. 74. The maxims of, more equitable than the civil courts of the middle ages, 76. When first compiled, 379.
- Roman, how it sunk into oblivion, I. 78. Circumstances which favoured the revival of it, 79. Its effects in improving the administration of justice, *ib.* Its rapid progress over Europe, 381, *Note xxv.*

I N D E X.

Lawburrows, in the Scottish law, explained, I. 304.

Learning, the revival of, favourable to the reformation of religion, II. 169.

Leipsick, a public disputation held there by Martin Luther, and Eccius, on the validity of the Papal authority, II. 147.

Leo X. Pope of Rome, his character, II. 78. His apprehensions on the election of an Emperor of Germany, at the death of Maximilian, *ib.* His counsel to the German Princes, 79. Grants Charles V. a tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices in Castile, 89. Lays Castile under an interdict, but takes it off, at the instance of Charles, *ib.* His conduct on the prospect of war between Charles and Francis, 100. Situation of the Papacy at his accession, and his views of policy, 115. His inattention to Martin Luther's controversy with the Dominicans, concerning indulgences, 127. Is instigated against him, and summons him to Rome, *ib.* Desires the Elector of Saxony not to protect him, 128. Is prevailed on to permit Luther's doctrines to be examined in Germany, *ib.* Cardinal Cajetan appointed to try him, 129. Issues a bull in favour of Indulgences, 135. A suspension of proceedings against Luther, and why, 136. Publishes a bull of excommunication against him, 139. The political views of his conduct between Charles and Francis, 186. Concludes a treaty with Francis, 188. Concludes a treaty also with Charles, 189. The conditions of the treaty with Charles, *ib.* Its consequences to Italy, 201. Is disappointed in a scheme formed by Morone, chancellor of Milan, for attacking that dutchy, 293. Excommunicates Marechal de Foix for his attack of Reggio, and declares against France, 204. Takes a body of Swiss into pay, *ib.* The French driven out of the Milanese, 209. He dies, *ib.* The spirit of the confederacy broken by his death, *ib.*

Leonard, father, forms a scheme of betraying Metz to the Imperialists, IV. 185. Introduces soldiers clad like friars, *ib.* Is detected, 187. Is murdered by his monks, 189.

I N D E X.

L'Esparre, Foix de, commands the French troops in Navarre for Henry D'Albert, II. 192. Reduces that kingdom, *ib.* His imprudent progress into Castile, 193. Is taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and the French driven out of Navarre, 194.

Levesque, Don, his account of the motives which induced the Emperor Charles V. to resign his hereditary dominions, IV. 227. *Note.*

Lewis II. King of Hungary and Bohemia, his character, II. 409. Is invaded and killed by Solymán the Magnificent, *ib.*

—— XII. King of France, receives homage of the Archduke Philip, for the earldom of Flanders, II. 3. Concludes a treaty with him, while at war with Ferdinand of Aragon, 6. Bestows his niece, Germaine de Foix, on Ferdinand, and concludes a peace with him, 14. Loses the confidence of Philip on that occasion, 29. *Note.* Bestows his eldest daughter, already betrothed to Charles V. on the count of Angoulême, *ib.*

Leyva, Antonio de, defends Pavia for the Emperor against Francis, II. 317. His vigorous defence, 318. Sallies out at the battle of Pavia, and contributes to the defeat of Francis, 325. Is left governor of Milan by the Duke of Bourbon, 394. Defeats the forces there, III. 28. Is appointed generalissimo of the Italian league, 67. Directs the operations of the invasion of France, under the Emperor, 138. Dies, 148.

Liberty, civil, the rise and progress of, traced, I. 38. How favoured by the ordinances of Louis X. of France, and his brother Philip, 48. The spirit of, how excited in France, 317, *Note* xix. The particulars included in the charters of, granted to husbandmen, 321. *Note* xx. The influence of the Christian religion in extending, 322. The several opportunities of obtaining, 336.

Limoges, council of, its endeavours to extinguish private wars, I. 235.

Literature, the cultivation of, greatly instrumental in civi-

I N D E X.

lizing the nations of Europe, I. 86. Why the first efforts of, ill directed, 87. The good effects nevertheless of the spirit of inquiry exerted, 89. How checked in its progress, 90. Its influence on manners and government, 91. Its obligations to the order of Jesuits, III. 218.

Liturgy, the preference between the Musarabic and Romish, how ascertained in Spain, 353.

Lombards, the first bankers in Europe, I. 401. The motive of their exacting exorbitant interest, 402.

London, its flourishing state at the time of Henry II. I. 317.

Lorenzo di Medici. See *Medici*.

Louis le Gros, of France, his inducement to grant privileges to towns within his own domains, I. 39. See *Charters*.

—— St. the great attention he paid to the administration of justice, in appeals which came before him, I. 371.

—— X. of France, his ordinances in favour of civil liberty, I. 48.

—— XI. of France, his character, I. 116. His schemes for depressing the nobility, *ib.* Sows divisions among them, 118. Increases the standing forces, *ib.* Enlarges the revenues of the crown, 119. His address in over-ruling the assembly of states, *ib.* Extends the bounds of the French monarchy, 120. The activity of his external operations, 121. His treacherous baseness toward the heiress of Burgundy, 126, 127. The effects of his conduct, 128.

—— XII. his hesitation in carrying on war against the Pope I. 159. *Note.* Asserts his right to the duchy of Milan, and retains Ludovico Sforza in prison, 171.

Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I. of France, her character, II. 205. Her motives for seizing the money appointed for payment of Marechal Lautrec's troops, 206. Cause of her aversion to the house of Bourbon, 275. Her advances toward a marriage with Charles Duke of Bourbon, rejected by him, 276. Determines to ruin him, *ib.* Instigates a law-suit against him for his estates, 277. Goes to dissuade Francis from his in-

I N D E X.

tended invasion of the Milanese, who will not wait for her, 313. Is appointed regent during his absence, *ib.* Her prudent conduct on the defeat of Pavia, and captivity of her son Francis, 330. Concludes a defensive alliance with Henry VIII. 341. Ratifies the treaty of Madrid for the recovery of her son's liberty, 361. Undertakes with Margaret of Savoy, to accommodate the differences between the Emperor and Francis, III. 30. Articles of the peace of Cambray, 32.

Loyola, Ignatio, commands the castle of Pampeluna in Navarre, and is wounded in its defence, II. 192. His enthusiastic turn of mind, *ib.* The founder of the society of Jesuits, *ib.* Prevails on the Pope to establish the order, III. 205. An examination into the constitution of the order, 206. Office and power of the general, 208. The rapid progress of the order, 212. See *Jesuits*.

Lorrain, Cardinal of, persuades Henry II. of France, to accept the offered alliance with Pope Paul IV. and is sent to Rome to negotiate it, IV. 219. His imprudent behaviour towards the dutchess of Valentinois, 308.

Lunenburg, Duke of, avows the opinions of Luther, II. 295.

Luther, Martin, the happy consequences of the opinions propagated by him, II. 113. Attacks Indulgences, 119. His birth and education, *ib.* Chosen philosophical professor at the university of Wittemberg, 120. Inveighs against the publishers of Indulgences, 121. Writes to Albert Elector of Mentz, against them, 122. Composes theses against Indulgences, *ib.* Is supported by the Augustinians, and encouraged by Frederick Elector of Saxony, 123. Is summoned to Rome by Pope Leo, 127. Obtains of the Pope leave to have his doctrines examined in Germany, 129. Appears before Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburgh, *ib.* His resolute reply to the peremptory order of Cajetan, to retract his principles, 130. Withdraws from Augsburgh, and appeals from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope when better infor-

I N D E X.

med concerning him, 131. Appeals to a general council, 134. The death of Maximilian, how of service to him, 135. Questions the Papal authority in a public disputation, 137. His opinions condemned by the universities of Cologne and Louvain, 138. A bull of excommunication published against him, 139. Pronounces the Pope to be Antichrist, and burns the bull, 140, 141. Reflections on the conduct of the court of Rome, toward him, 142. Reflections on his conduct, 144. Causes which contributed to favour his opposition to the church of Rome, 147. Particularly the art of printing, 168. And the revival of learning, 169. He is summoned to appear at the diet of Worms, 177. A safe-conduct granted him thither, *ib.* His reception there, 178. Refuses to retract his opinions, 179. Departs, *ib.* An edict published against him, *ib.* He is seized and concealed at Wartburgh, 180. Progress of his doctrines, 181. The university of Paris publishes a decree against him, *ib.* Wrote against by Henry VIII. of England, *ib.* Answers both, 183. Withdraws from his retreat to check the inconsiderate zeal of Carlostadius, 293. Undertakes a translation of the Bible, 294. His doctrines avowed by several of the German Princes, 295. His moderate and prudent conduct, 373. Marries Catharine a Boria, a nun, *ib.* The great progress of his doctrines among the Germanic States, III. 44. Encourages the Protestants dispirited by the Emperor's decree against him, 54. His concern at the practices of the Anabaptists at Munster, 87. Is invited to Leip-sick, by Henry Duke of Saxony, 180. His opinion of Gropper's treatise to unite the Protestants and Catholics, 228. Dies, 334. Summary of his character, 335. Extract from his last will, 339. *Note.* See *Protestants*. A view of the extraordinary effects of his revolt from the church of Rome, on that court and on Europe in general, IV. 355.

Luxemburgh, invaded by Robert de la Mark, lord of Bouillon, II. 195. Invaded and over-run by the Duke of Orleans, III. 258. Is again invaded by Francis, 269,

I N D E X

M.

- Madrid*, treaty of, between the Emperor, Charles V. and his prisoner Francis I. King of France, II. 357. Sentiments of the public with regard to this treaty, 358.
- Magdeburgh*, the city of, refuses to admit the *Interim* enforced by Charles V. and prepares for defence, IV. 20. Maurice Elector of Saxony appointed to reduce it, 21. Is put under the ban of the Empire, 40. The territories of, invaded by George of Mecklenburgh, *ib.* The inhabitants defeated in a sally, 41. Maurice of Saxony arrives and besieges the city, 42. Surrenders, 43. The senate elects Maurice their burgrave, 45.
- Mahmed*, King of Tunis, history of his sons, III. 101.
- Majorca*, an insurrection there, II. 266. Which is quelled with difficulty, *ib.* The moderation of Charles towards the insurgents, on his arrival in Spain, 268.
- Majesty*, the appellation of, assumed by Charles V. on his election to the Imperial crown, and taken by all the other monarchs of Europe, II. 87.
- Malines*, council of, an account of, III. 189.
- Malta*, the island of, granted by the Emperor Charles V. to the knights of St. John, expelled from Rhodes by the Turks, II. 222.
- Mamalukes*, extirpated by Sultan Selim II. II. 72.
- Mammelukes*, a faction in Geneva, so termed, some account of, III. 126.
- Manfred*, his struggles for the crown of Naples, I. 165.
- Mankind*, the most calamitous period in the history of, pointed out, I. 11.
- Manners*, the barbarity of, under the feudal establishments, after the overthrow of the Roman empire, I. 21. When they began to improve, 24. Effects of the Crusades on, 30. How improved by the enfranchisements of cities, 42. How improved by the erection of royal courts of justice, in opposition to the barons courts, 73. Effects of the revival of the Roman law on, 78. The beneficial tendency of the spirit of chivalry on, 82. How influenced by the progress of science, 86, 91. How polished by the revival of commerce, 97.

I N D E X.

- Manuel*, Don John, Ferdinand's ambassador at the Imperial court, pays his court to the archduke Philip on Queen Isabella's death, II. 11. Intercepts Joanna's letter of consent to Ferdinand's regency of Castile, 12. Negotiates a treaty between Ferdinand and Philip, 15. Declares for Maximilian's regency on Philip's death, 22. Is made Imperial ambassador at Rome, and concludes an alliance between Charles V. and Leo X. 189. The conditions of the treaty, *ib.* Procures Adrian of Utrecht to be elected Pope, 212.
- Manumission*, particulars included in the charters of, granted to husbandmen or slaves, I. 321, *Note* xx. The form of, 323.
- Marcellus* II. Pope, his character, IV. 208. Dies, 209.
- Marciano*, battle of, between Peter Strozzi, and the marquis de Marignano, IV. 175.
- Margaret* of Austria, and Dowager of Savoy, aunt to Charles V. undertakes with Louise, mother of Francis I. of France, to accommodate the differences between those two monarchs, III. 30. Articles of the peace of Cambray, 32.
- Marignano*, marquis of, appointed commander of the Florentine army, acting against the French, IV. 172. Defeats the French army under Peter Strozzi, 176. Lays siege to Siena, *ib.* Converts the siege into a blockade, 178. Siena surrenders, *ib.* Reduces Porto Ercole, 181. His troops ordered into Piedmont by the Emperor, 182.
- Mark*, Robert de la, lord of Bouillon, declares war against the Emperor Charles V. II. 194. Ravages Luxembourg with French troops, 195. Is commanded to disband his troops by Francis, *ib.* His territories reduced by the Emperor, *ib.*
- Marseilles*, besieged by the Imperialists, II. 309. Rescued by Francis, 410. Interview and treaty there between the Pope and Francis, III. 71.
- Martinuzzi*, bishop of Waradin, is appointed guardian to Stephen, King of Hungary, III. 233. His charac-

I N D E X.

- ter, 234. Solicits the assistance of Sultan Solyman against Ferdinand, 235. Solyman seizes the kingdom, 236. Is appointed to the government of Transylvania and the education of the young King, jointly with the Queen, IV. 51. Negotiates with Ferdinand, 52. Prevails on the Queen to resign Transylvania to Ferdinand, 54. Is appointed governor of Transylvania, and made a Cardinal, 55. Is assassinated by Ferdinand's order, 57.
- Martyr*, Peter, his authority cited in proof of the extortions of the Flemish ministers of Charles V. II. 64.
- Mary* of Burgundy, contracted to Lewis XII. of France, but married to the Emperor Maximilian, II. 2.
- Mary* of England, her accession, IV. 154. Receives proposals from the Emperor Charles V. of marrying his son Philip, 155. The English averse to this union, *ib.* The house of commons remonstrates against the match, 156. The articles of marriage, 157. The marriage ratified by parliament, and completed, 160. Re-establishes the Romish religion, 161. Persecutes the reformers, 162. Invites Charles to England on his resignation and passage to Spain, which he declines, 256. Is engaged by Philip to assist him in his war against France, 268. Levies money by her prerogative to carry on the war, 269. Her neglect in the security of Calais, 292. Calais invested and taken by the Duke of Guise, 294. Dies, 322.
- daughter of James V. of Scotland, succeeds to the crown an infant, III. 264. Is contracted to the Dauphin of France, 474. Is educated at the court of France, IV. 34. 300. The marriage completed, *ib.* Assumes the title and arms of England on the death of Mary, 324.
- Matthias*, John, a baker, becomes a leader of the Anabaptists, at Munster, III. 79. Seizes the city and establishes a new form of government there, 80. Repulses the bishop of Munster, 82. Is killed, *ib.* See *Bocold* and *Anabaptists*.
- Maurice*, duke of Saxony, his motives for not acceding

I N D E X.

to the Protestant league of Smalkalde, III. 275. Marches to the assistance of Ferdinand in Hungary, 276. His difference with his cousin the Elector, *ib.* His conduct at the diet of Worms, 315. Joins the Emperor against the Protestants, 364. His motives, 382. His insidious conduct toward the Elector, 384. Seizes the electorate of Saxony, 388. Saxony recovered by the Elector, 396. His ineffectual endeavours to reduce Wittemberg for the Emperor, 442. Obtains possession of the electorate, 448. Is formally invested at the diet of Augsburgh, 484. Becomes dissatisfied with the Emperor, IV. 11. His motives to discontent explained, 13. His address and caution in his conduct, 15. Enforces the *Interim* in his territories, 16. Makes, nevertheless, professions of his attachment to the Reformation, 17. Undertakes to reduce Magdeburgh to submit to the *Interim*, 18. Protests against the council of Trent, 19. Is commissioned by the Emperor to reduce Magdeburgh, 21. Joins George of Mecklenburgh before Magdeburgh, 40. The city capitulates, 43. Begins to intrigue with Count Mansfeldt, 44. Is elected Burgrave of Magdeburgh, 45. Dismisses his troops, 47. His address in amusing the Emperor, 48. Makes an alliance with Henry II. of France, to make war on the Emperor, 59. Makes a formal requisition of the Landgrave's liberty, 63. Joins his troops, and publishes a manifesto, 70. Takes possession of Augsburgh and other cities, 73. An ineffectual negociation with Charles, 75. Defeats a body of the Emperor's troops, 78. Takes the castle of Ehrenberg, *ib.* Is retarded by a mutiny in his troops, 79. Enters Inspruck, and narrowly misses taking Charles, 81. A negociation between him and Ferdinand, 91. Besieges Frankfort on the Maine, 99. His inducements to an accommodation, 100. Signs a treaty with the Emperor at Passau, 101. Reflections on his conduct in this war, 103. Marches into Hungary to oppose the Turks, 107. Is placed at the head of the league against Albert of Brandenburgh, 132. De-

I N D E X.

- feats Albert, but is killed in the battle, 133. His character, 134. Is succeeded by his brother Augustus, 136.
- Maximilian*, archduke of Austria, married to Mary heiress of Burgundy, I. 128. The influence of this match on the state of Europe, *ib.*
- Maximilian*, Emperor of Germany, institutes the Imperial chamber, I. 214. Reforms the Aulick council, *ib.* Claims the regency of Castile on his son Philip's death, II. 22. Is supported in his claims by Don John Manuel, *ib.* Loses it, 24. Obtains the government of the Low Countries by the death of Philip, 29. Appoints William de Croy, lord of Chievres, to superintend the education of his grandson Charles, *ib.* Concludes a peace with France and Venice, 56. Dies, 69. State of Europe at this period, *ib.* His endeavours to secure the Imperial crown to his grandson Charles, 70. How obstructed, *ib.*
- Mecklenburgh*, George of, invades the territories of Magdeburgh for the Emperor, IV. 40. Defeats the Magdeburghers who rally out on him, 41. Is joined by Maurice of Saxony, who assumes the supreme command, *ib.*
- Medecino*, John James; see *Marignano*.
- Medici*, Cosmo di, the first of the name, the influence he acquired in Florence, I. 163.
- Medici*, Alexander, restored to the dominions of Florence, by the Emperor Charles, III. 43. Is assassinated, 165.
- Cardinal de, elected Pope, and assumes the title of Clement VII. II, 283. See *Clement VII.*
- Catherine di, is married to the Duke of Orleans, III. 71. Is conjectured, by the Emperor Charles V. to have poisoned the Dauphin, 152.
- Cosmo di, made Duke of Florence, III. 167. Is supported by the Emperor, and defeats the partizans of Lorenzo, 169. Asserts his independency against the Emperor, IV. 124. Offers to reduce Siena for the Emperor, 171. Enters into a war with France, *ib.* See *Marignano*. His address in procuring the investiture of Siena from Philip II. of Spain, 286. It is granted to him, 288.

I N D E X.

- Lorenzo di, assassinate his kinsman Alexander, III. 166. Flies, 167. Attempts to oppose Cosmo, but is defeated, 168.
- Medina del Campo*, the inhabitants of, refuse to let Fonseca take the military stores there, for the siege of the insurgents in Segovia, II. 228. The town almost burnt by Fonseca, *ib.* The inhabitants repulse him, *ib.* Surrenders after the battle of Villalar, and dissolution of the Holy Junta, 258.
- Melancthon*, imbibes the opinions of Martin Luther, II. 142. Is employed to draw up a confession of faith by the Protestant Princes at the diet of Augsburgh, III. 51. Is dejected by the Emperor's decree against the Protestants, but comforted by Luther, 54. Is invited to Paris by Francis, 119. His conference with Eccius, 226. Is prevailed on to favour the *Interim* enforced by the Emperor, IV. 16.
- Melito*, Conde de, made viceroy of Valencia, on the departure of Charles V. for Germany, II. 95. Appointed to command the troops of the nobles against the Germanada, 264. Defeated by them in several actions, 265. Destroys the association, *ib.*
- Mentz*, archbishop of, artfully declares before the Emperor, the diet of Augsburgh's acceptance of the *Interim*, without being authorised by it, III. 483.
- Merville*, a Milanese gentleman, employed as envoy from Francis I. to Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, his fate III. 116, 117.
- Metz*, seized by Montmorency the French general, IV. 75. The duke of Guise made governor of, 113. Is besieged by the Emperor, 116. The Emperor desists, and retires in a distressed condition, 122. A scheme formed by father Leonard to betray the city to the Imperialists, 185. The conspiracy detected by the governor, 187. Leonard murdered by his monks, and his associates executed, 189.
- Mezieres*, in France, besieged by the Imperialists, II. 196. Gallant defence of, by the chevalier Bayard, *ib.* The siege raised, *ib.*

I N D E X

Milan, the state of the dutchy of, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, I. 168. Rise and progress of the disputes concerning the succession to, 169. Marechal de Foix appointed to be the French governor of, II. 202. His character, *ib.* The Milanese alienated from the French by his oppressions, *ib.* Invaded by the ecclesiastical troops under Prosper Colonna, 204. The French driven out, 207. Oppressed by the Imperial troops, 272. Invaded by the French, 280. Who are driven out by Colonna, 282. The Imperial troops there mutiny for pay, but are appeased by Morone, 29. Abandoned by the French, 290. Over-run again by Francis who seizes the city, 314. The French retire on news of the battle of Pavia, 327. The investiture of, granted to Sforza, 342. Taken from him and granted to the Duke of Bourbon, 354. Disorders committed by the Imperial troops there, 378. Oppressive measures of Bourbon to supply his mutinous troops, 392. The French forces there defeated by Antonio de Leyva, III. 28. Is again granted by the Emperor to Sforza, 42. Death of Sforza, 129. The pretensions of Francis to that dutchy, 130. Is seized by the Emperor, *ib.* The marquis del Guasto appointed governor, 149.

Mind, the human, a view of, under the first establishment of the feudal policy in Europe, I. 24. The æra of its ultimate depression, and commencement of its improvement, *ib.* The progress of its operations, before the full exertion of it, 87.

Ministeriales, a class of the Oblati, or voluntary slaves, the pious motives of the obligations they entered into, I. 326.

Mohacz, battle of, between Solyman the Magnificent and the Hungarians, II. 409.

Monastic orders, enquiry into the fundamental principles of, III. 206. Peculiar constitution of the order of Jesuits, 207.

Moncado, Don Hugo di, the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, his intrigues with Cardinal Colonna, against Pope Clement

I N D E X.

Clement II. 388. Reduces the Pope to an accommodation, 389. Is defeated and killed by Andrew Doria in a naval engagement before the harbour of Naples, III. 18.

Monluc, is sent by the count d'Enguien to Francis for permission to give battle to the marquis del Guaſto, III. 289. Obtains his ſuit by his ſpirited arguments, 290. Commands in Siena, when beſieged by the marquis de Marignano, IV. 176. His vigorous defence, 177. Is reduced by famine, and capitulates, 178.

Monte Alcino, number of the citizens of Siena retire thither after the reduction of that city by the Florentines, and eſtabliſh a free government there, IV. 179.

Montecuculi, Count of, accused and tortured for poisoning the Dauphin, charges the Emperor with instigating it, III. 151.

Montmorency, marechal, his character, III. 143. Francis adopts his plan for reſiſting the Emperor, and commits the execution to him, *ib.* His precautions, *ib.* His troops deſpiſe his conduct, 146. Obſervations on his operations, 149. Is diſgraced, 256. Conducts the army of Henry II. to join Maurice of Saxony, and ſeizes Metz, IV. 75. Diſſuades Henry from accepting the offered alliance with Pope Paul IV. 217. Commands the French army againſt the duke of Savoy, 272. Detaches D'Andelot to relieve St. Quintin, *ib.* Expoſes himſelf imprudently to an action, and is defeated, 273. Is taken priſoner, 274. Negotiates a peace between Philip and Henry, 309. Returns to France, and is highly honoured by Henry, 310. His aſſiduity in forwarding the negotiations, 327. His expedient for promoting the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis, 331.

Montpelier, a fruitleſs conference held there for the reſtitution of the kingdom of Navarre, II. 67.

Moors, make a conqueſt of Spain, I. 173. By what means weakened during their eſtabliſhment there, 174. Remarks on their conduct in Spain, 176.

Morone, Jerome, chancellor of Milan, his character, II. Vol. IV.

I N D E X

202. Retires from the French exactions in Milan to Francis Sforza, 203. His intrigues, how rendered abortive, *ib.* Quiets the mutiny of the Imperial troops in Milan, 289. Is disgusted with the behaviour of Charles, 342. Intrigues against the Emperor with Pescara, 344. Is betrayed to the Emperor by Pescara, 346. Is arrested at his visit to Pescara, 348. Is set at liberty by the Duke of Bourbon, and becomes his confident, 392.
- Mousson* in France, taken by the Imperialists, II. 196. Retaken by Francis, 197.
- Muhlberg*, battle of, between the Emperor Charles V. and the Elector of Saxony, III. 437.
- Muley Hascen*, King of Tunis, his inhuman treatment of his father and brothers, III. 101. Is expelled by Barbarossa, 103. Engages the Emperor Charles V. to restore him, 105. Is established again by the surrender of Tunis, 112. His treaty with Charles, 113.
- Muncer*, Thomas, a disciple of Luther, opposes him with fanatical notions, II. 369. Heads the insurrection of the Peasants in Thuringia, 370. His extravagant schemes, *ib.* Is defeated and put to death, 372.
- Municipal* privileges, how obtained by the cities of Italy, I. 296, *Note* xv. Secured to them by the treaty of Constance, 302. The favourite state of, under the Roman government, 311.
- Munster*, the first settlement of the Anabaptists in that city, III. 79. The city seized by them, 80. They establish a new form of government there, *ib.* Is called Mount Sion, 81. The Bishop of, repulsed by them, 82. Is blockaded by the bishop, 87. The city taken, 89. See *Anabaptists*.
- Murder*, the prices of composition for, by the Romish clergy, II. 153.
- Mustapha*, the declared heir to Sultan Solymán the Magnificent, is invested with the administration of Diarbekir, IV. 146. His father rendered jealous of his popularity, by the arts of Roxalana, 147. Is strangled by his father's order, 151. His only son murdered, 153.

I N D E X

N.

Naples, a view of the constitution of that kingdom, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, I. 164. The turbulent unsettled state of that kingdom, 165. State of the disputes concerning the succession of the crown of, *ib.* The pretensions of the French and Spanish monarchs to the crown of, 167. The revenues of, mortgaged by Lannoy to supply the Emperor in his exigencies, II. 315. Invaded by the French under the Duke of Albany, 320. Invaded by Pope Clement VII. 394. Treaty between the Pope and Lannoy viceroy of, 398. The Prince of Orange retreats thither before Lautrec, III. 17. Is blockaded by Lautrec, 18. Sea engagement in the harbour of, between Andrew Doria and Moncade, *ib.* Causes which disappointed the French operations against, 19. Doria revolts, and opens the communication by sea again, 22, 23. Oppressed by the Spanish viceroy Don Petro de Toledo, becomes disaffected to the Emperor Charles V. IV. 127. Is harassed by a Turkish fleet, 128.

Narbonne, community of, preamble to the writ of summons of Philip the Long, to, I. 318, *Note* xix.

Nassau, Count of, invades Bouillon at the head of the Imperialists, II. 196. Invades France, takes Moulon, and besieges Mezieres, but is repulsed, *ib.*

Navarre, the kingdom of, unjustly acquired by Ferdinand of Aragon, II. 26. D'Albert's invasion of, defeated by Cardinal Ximenes, 51. Its castles dismantled, except Pampeluna, which Ximenes strengthens, *ib.* Invaded by Francis I. in the name of Henry D'Albert, 192. Reduced by L'Esparre, the French general, 193. The French driven out by the Spaniards, and L'Esparre taken prisoner, 194.

Navigation, proof of the imperfect state of, during the middle ages, I. 404.

Netherlands, vigorous prosecution of the manufactures of

I N D E X.

hemp and flax there, on the revival of commerce in Europe, I. 96. The government of, first assumed by Charles V. II. 32. The Flemings averse to Charles's going to Spain, 56. Invaded by Francis I. King of France, 197. A truce concluded with, by Henry VIII. of England, III. 20. Invaded by Francis again, 154. A suspension of arms there, 155. An insurrection at Ghent, 186. See *Ghent*. Is once more invaded by Francis, 268. Resigned by the Emperor to his son Philip, IV. 230. A review of the alterations in, during the sixteenth century, 369, 370.

Nice, a truce for ten years concluded there between the Emperor and Francis, III. 162. Besieged by the French and Turks, 273.

Normans, why so few traces of their usages and language, to be found in England, in comparison with those of the Saxons, I. 236, *Note* iv.

Noyon, treaty of, between Charles V. and Francis I. of France, II. 55. The terms of neglected by Charles, 98.

Nuremberg, the city of, embraces the reformed religion, II. 295. Diet of, particulars of Pope Adrian's brief to, respecting the reformers, 296. The reply to, 298. Proposes a general council, *ib.* Presents a list of grievances to the Pope, 299. The recess, or edict, of, 300. This diet of great advantage to the reformers, 301. Proceedings of a second diet there, 304. Recess of the diet, 305. An accommodation agreed to there, between the Emperor Charles V. and the Protestants, III. 61.

O

Oblati, or voluntary slaves, the classes of, specified, I. 325.

Oran, and other places in Barbary annexed to the crown of Castile, by Ximenes, III. 25.

Orange, Philibert de Chalons Prince of, general of the Imperial army on the death of the duke of Bourbon, takes the castle of St. Angelo, and Pope Clement VII. prisoner, II. 407. Retires to Naples on the approach

I N D E X.

- of Lautrec, III. 17. Takes his successor the marquis de Saluces. prisoner at Averfa, 24.
- Ordeal*, methods of trial by, during the middle ages, I. 59. The influence of superstition in dictating these means, 60.
- Orleans*, Duke of, delivered up to the Emperor Charles V. with the Dauphin, as hostages for the performance of the treaty of Madrid, II. 362. Is married to Catharine di Medici, III. 71. Becomes Dauphin by the death of his brother, 152. See *Dauphin*.
- Duke of, brother to the former, commands the army appointed by Francis I. for the invasion of Luxemburgh, III. 258. Is prompted by envy to abandon his conquests, and join his brother the Dauphin in Roussillon, 259. Dies, 319.
- Otto*, Frisingensis, his account of the state of Italy under Frederick I. I. 297.
- Ottoman*, empire, the origin, and despotick nature of, I. 223. Becomes formidable to the Christian powers, 229.

P

- Pacheco*, Donna Maria, wife to Don John de Padilla, her artful scheme to raise money to supply the army of the holy junta, II. 249. Her husband taken prisoner and executed, 256. His letter to her, 257. Raises forces to revenge his death, 260. Is reduced and retires to Portugal, 261.
- Padilla*, Don John de, his family and character, II. 224. Heads the insurrection at Toledo, *ib.* Routs the troops under Ronquillo, 227. Calls a convention of the malecontents at Avila, 232. Forms the confederacy called the Holy Junta, *ib.* Disclaims Adrian's authority, *ib.* Gets possession of Queen Joanna, 233. Removes the Holy Junta to Tordesillas, the place of her residence, 234. Sent with troops to Valladolid, and deprives Adrian of all power of government, 235. Is superseded in the command of the army of the Junta, by Don Pedro de

I N D E X.

Giron, 245. Is appointed commander at the resignation of Giron, 248. His army supplied with money by an expedient of his wife, 249. Besieges Torrelobaton, 253. Takes and plunders it, *ib.* Concludes a truce with the nobles, *ib.* Is wounded and taken prisoner in an action with the Conde de Haro, 255. Is put to death, 256. His letter to his wife, *ib.* His letter to the city of Toledo, *ib.*

Palatinate, the Reformation established there by the Elector Frederick, III. 323.

Palatine, Count, ambassador from the diet at Frankfort, brings Charles V. the offer of the Imperial crown, which he accepts, II. 88.

Pampeluna, castle of, in Navarre, its fortifications strengthened by Cardinal Ximenes, II. 51. Taken by L'Esparre, the French general for Henry D'Albert, 193. Retaken by the French, 194.

Papacy, how liable to be affected by the disposal of the Imperial crown, II. 78. See *Popedom*.

Paper, when first made of the present materials, I. 282.

Paraguay, a sovereignty established there, by the order of Jesuits, III. 219. The inhabitants of, civilized by them, 220. Precautions used by the Jesuits to preserve the independency of their empire there, 221.

Paris, an inquiry into the pre-eminent jurisdiction of its parliament over the other parliaments of France, I. 204. Its origin traced, 449. *Note* xl. The royal edicts registered by, before admitted to be laws, 452. A decree published by the university of, against Martin Luther the Reformer, II. 181. A decree of the parliament of, published against the Emperor Charles V. III. 153.

Parliaments, or legislative assemblies, how formed under the feudal policy, I. 43. How altered by the progress of civil liberty, 44.

Parma, the duchy of, confirmed to Octavio Farnese, by Pope Julius III. IV. 32. Is attacked by the Imperialists, and successfully protected by the French, 35.

I N D E X.

Passau, a treaty concluded there between the Emperor Charles V. and Maurice of Saxony, IV. 101. Reflections on this peace and the conduct of Maurice, 103.

Pavia, besieged by Francis I. of France, II. 316. Vigorously defended by Antonio de Leyva, 318. Battle of, between Francis and the Duke of Bourbon, 324. The Imperial troops in that city mutiny, 335.

Paul III. Pope, elected, III. 75. His character, *ib.* Proposes a general council to be held at Mantua, 94. Negotiates personally between the Emperor and Francis, 160. Issues a bull for a council at Mantua, 173. Prorogues and transfers it to Vicenza, 175. A partial reformation of abuses by, 176. Summons the council of Trent, 278. Prorogues it, 279. Summons it again, 310. Grants the duchies of Parma and Placentia to his illegitimate son, 320. Deprives and excommunicates the electoral bishop of Cologne, 343. Presses the Emperor to declare against the Protestants, 345. Concludes an alliance with him against the Protestants, 352. Indiscreetly publishes this treaty, 356. His troops join the Emperor, 362. Recalls them, 399. Removes the council from Trent to Bologna, 469. Refuses the Emperor's request to carry the council back to Trent, 470. His resentment against the Emperor for the murder of his son Cardinal Farnese, 473. Is petitioned by the diet of Augsburg for the return of the council to Trent, 475. Eludes the complying with his request, 477. His sentiments of the *Interim*, published by Charles, 487. Dismisses the council of Bologna, 494. Annexes Parma and Placentia to the Holy See, IV. 2. Dies 3. The manner of his death inquired into, 4.

Paul IV. Pope, elected, IV. 209. His character and history, 210. Founds the order of Theatines, 211. Is the principal occasion of establishing the inquisition in the Papal territories, 212. Lays aside his austerity on his election, *ib.* His partiality to his nephews, 213. Is alienated from the Emperor by his nephews, 216. Makes overtures to an alliance with France, 217. Is en-

I N D E X.

- raged by the recess of the diet of Augsburgh, 220. Signs a treaty with France, 223. Is included in the truce for five years, concluded between the Emperor and Henry, 239. His insidious artifices to defeat this truce, 242. Absolves Henry from his oath, and concludes a new treaty with him, 246. His violent proceedings against Philip, now King of Spain, 247. The Campagna Romana seized by the Duke d'Alva, 250. Concludes a truce with Alva, 251. Contrast between his conduct and that of Charles, 260. Renews his hostilities against Philip, 262. Is unprovided for military operations, 263. Is reduced to make peace with Philip, by the recal of the Duke of Guise after the defeat of St. Quintin, 283. Receives an ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand to notify his election, but refuses to see him or to acknowledge the Emperor, 297. Dies, 335.
- Paulin*, a French officer, sent ambassador from Francis I. to Sultan Solymán, III. 267. His successful negotiations at the Porte, *ib.*
- Pembroke*, earl of, sent by Queen Mary of England with a body of men to join the Spanish army in the Low-Countries, IV. 269.
- People*, their wretched servile state under the feudal system, I. 19, 46. Released from their slavish state by the enfranchisement of cities, 40. How they obtained a representation in national councils, 45. Those who lived in the country and cultivated the ground, an inquiry into their condition under the feudal policy, 272, *Note ix.*
- Perpignan*, the capital of Roussillon, besieged by the Dauphin of France, III. 258. The siege raised, 259.
- Persia*, murder in, how punished there, I. 363.
- Pescara*, marquis de, takes Milan by assault, II. 208. Drives Bonnivét back to France, 290. His generous care of the chevalier Bayard, 291. Commands in the invasion of Provence, 309. Besieges Marseilles, 310. His army retires toward Italy, on the appearance of the French troops, *ib.* Resigns Milan to the French, 314.

I N D E X.

Prevails on the Spanish troops not to murmur at present for their pay, 316. Contributes to the defeat of Francis at the battle of Pavia, 325. Is disgusted at Francis being taken to Spain, without his concurrence, 343. His resentment inflamed by Morone, 344. Betrays Morone's designs to the Emperor, 347. Arrests Morone, 348. Dies, 353.

Peter, the Hermit, excites the European princes to undertake the Holy War, I. 24.

— IV. King of Aragon, defeats the leaders of the Aragonese union, privilege of these associations, I. 416.

Philip the Long, preamble to his writ of summons to the community of Narbonne, I. 316., *Note* xix.

Philip, Archduke of Austria, and father of Charles V. visits Spain, with his wife Joanna, II. 4. Does homage by the way to Lewis XII. of France for the earldom of Flanders, *ib.* His title to the crown acknowledged by the Cortes, *ib.* Is disgusted with the formality of the Spanish court, *ib.* Ferdinand becomes jealous of his power, *ib.* Slights his wife, 5. His abrupt departure from Spain, *ib.* Passes through France, and enters into a treaty with Lewis, 6. His sentiments on Ferdinand's obtaining the regency of Castile, 10. Requires Ferdinand to retire to Aragon, and resign his regency of Castile, 11. The Regency of Castile, vested jointly in him, Ferdinand, and Joanna, by the treaty of Salamanca, 15. Sets out for Spain, and is driven on the coast of England, where he is detained three months by Henry VII. 16. Arrives at Corunna, *ib.* The Castilian nobility declare openly for him, *ib.* Ferdinand resigns the regency of Castile to him, 17. Interview between them, *ib.* Acknowledged King of Castile by the Cortes, 19. Dies, *ib.* Joanna's extraordinary conduct in regard to his body, 20. See *Joanna*.

Philip, Prince, son to the Emperor Charles V. his right of succession recognized by the Cortes of Aragon and Valencia, III. 261. Is acknowledged by the States of the Netherlands, 407. His deportment disgusts the Fle-

I N D E X.

mings, *ib.* His character, IV. 30. Is married to Mary Queen of England, 157. 160. The English parliament jealous of him, 163. His father resigns his hereditary dominions to him, 223. Is called by his father out of England, 230. The ceremony of investing him, *ib.* His father's address to him, 233. Commissions Cardinal Granvelle to address the assembly in his name, 234. Mary Queen Dowager of Hungary resigns her regency. 235. The dominions of Spain resigned to him, *ib.* His unpoliteness to the French ambassador Coligni, 240, *Note.* The Pope's violent proceedings against him, 247. His scruples concerning commencing hostilities against the Pope, 248. His ungrateful neglect in paying his father's pension, 258. The Pope renews hostilities against him, 262. Assembles an army in the Low Countries against France, 267. Goes over to England to engage that kingdom in the war, *ib.* Visits the camp at St. Quintin, after the victory, 276. Opposes the scheme of penetrating to Paris, and orders the siege of St. Quintin to be prosecuted, 278. St. Quintin taken by assault, 279. The small advantages he reaped by these successes, 281. Builds the Escorial in memory of the battle of St. Quintin, *ib.* Concludes a peace with the Pope, 283. Restores Placentia to Octavio Farnese, 285. Grants the investiture of Siena to Cosmo di Medici, 288. Enters into negotiations for peace with his prisoner Montmorency, 309. Death of Queen Mary, 322. Addresses her successor Elizabeth for marriage, 323. Elizabeth's motives for rejecting him, 325. Her evasive answer to him, 326. Supplants his son Don Carlos, and marries Henry's daughter Elizabeth, 331. Articles of the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, 332.

Philibert, Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. See *Savoy*.

Phillipino, nephew to Andrew Doria, defeats Moncado in a sea engagement before the harbour of Naples, III. 18.

Philosophy, cultivated by the Arabians, when lost in Europe, I. 387., *Note* xxviii. Its progress from them into Europe, 388.

I N D E X.

Piadena, marquis de, invades Transylvania for Ferdinand IV. 52. Misrepresents Cardinal Martinuzzi to Ferdinand, and obtains a commission to assassinate him, 57. Is forced to abandon Transylvania, 141.

Picardy, invaded by Henry VIII. II. 218. Henry forced by the Duke de Vendome to retire, 219. Invaded again under the Duke of Suffolk, 286. Who penetrates almost to Paris, but is driven back, 287. Ineffectual invasion by the Imperialists, III. 150.

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land, when first undertaken, I. 26. See *Crusades*, and *Peter the Hermit*.

Placentia, council of, the Holy war resolved on by, I. 28. The dutchy of, granted together with that of Parma by Pope Paul III. to his natural son, Cardinal Farnese, III. 320. Farnese assassinated there, 472. Is taken possession of, by the Imperial troops, 473. Restored to Octavio Farnese, by Philip II. of Spain, IV. 285.

Plunder, how divided among the ancient northern nations, 15, Illustrated in an anecdote of Clovis, I. 254, *Note vii*.

Pole, Cardinal, arrives in England with a legantine commission, IV. 161. Endeavours to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the King of France, without success, 190. Is recalled from the court of England by Pope Paul IV. 262.

Popedom, the highest dignity in Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century, I. 148. Origin and progress of the papal power, 149. The territories of the Popes unequal to the support of their spiritual jurisdiction, 150. Their authority in their own territories extremely limited, 151. The check they received from the Roman barons, 152. Nicholas Rienzo attempts to establish a democratical government in Rome, and to destroy the papal jurisdiction, 153. The papal authority considerably strengthened by the Popes Alexander VI. and Julius II. 154. See *Julius II*. The permanent nature of ecclesiastical dominion, 155. The civil administration of, not uniform or consistent, *ib*. Rome the school of

I N D E X.

- political intrigue during the sixteenth century, 156.
 The advantages derived from the union of spiritual and temporal authority, 175. A view of the contests between the Popes and the Emperors of Germany, 210.
- Populoufness* of the ancient northern nations, an inquiry into, I. 5.
- Prague*, its privileges abridged by Ferdinand King of Bohemia, III. 465.
- Printing*, its effects on the progress of the Reformation, II. 168.
- Priscus*, extract from his account of the Roman embassy to Attila King of the Huns, I. 235, *Note* iii.
- Procopius*, his account of the cruel devastations made by the irruption of the northern nations, I. 236, *Note* v. 240, 241.
- Property*, the possession of, how secured by the French charters of communities, I. 305.
- Protestants*, the derivation of the name, III. 48. Of whom they originally consisted, *ib.* A severe decree published against them by the Emperor, 53. They enter into a league, 54. See *Smalkalde*. Renew their league, and apply to Francis King of France, and Henry VIII. of England, for protection, 57. Are secretly encouraged by Francis, 58. Receive a supply of money from Henry, 59. Terms of the pacification agreed to between them and the Emperor at Nurenberg, 61. Assist the Emperor against the Turks, 62. Their negociations with the Pope, relative to a general council, 65. Renew the league of Smalkalde for ten years. 95. The motives for refusing to assist the King of France against the Emperor, 121. Refuse to acknowledge the council summoned by the Pope at Mantua, 174. A conference between their principal divines and a deputation of Catholics, at Ratisbon, 227. This conference how rendered fruitless, 229. Obtain a private grant from Charles in their favour, 231. Drive the Duke of Brunswick from his dominions, 280. All rigorous edicts against them suspended by a recess of the diet of

I N D E X.

Spires, 285. Their remonstrances to Ferdinand at the diet of Worms, 313. Their inflexible adherence to the recess of Spires, *ib.* Disclaim all connection with the council of Trent, 315. Are strengthened by the accession of Frederick Elector Palatine, 323. Are alarmed at the proceedings of the Emperor, 327, 351. The Emperor leagues with the Pope against them, 353. Prepare to resist the Emperor, 358. Levy an army, 363. The operations of the army distracted by the joint commanders, 371. The army dispersed, 391. The Elector of Saxony reduced, 439. The Landgrave deceived by treaty, and confined, 455, 456. The Emperor's cruel treatment of him, 461. The *Interim*, a system of theology recommended by the Emperor to the diet at Augsburgh, 482. Are promised protection by the Emperor at the council of Trent, IV. 23. The Emperor proceeds rigorously against them, 38. Their deputies obtain a safe-conduct from the Emperor, but are refused by the council, 49. Maurice of Saxony raises an army in their cause, 70. See *Maurice*. Treaty of Passau, 102. The protestant Princes again unite to strengthen the Protestant interest, 198. Recess of the diet of Augsburgh on the subjects of religion, 200. Why originally averse to the principles of toleration, 205.

Proveditori, in the Venetian policy, their office, I. 160.

Provence, is laid waste by the Marechal Montmorency on the approach of the Emperor Charles V. III. 143. Is entered by the Emperor, 144. The disastrous retreat of the Emperor from, 148.

Prussia, when conquered by the Teutonic order, II. 375. Is erected into a dutchy, and finally into a kingdom, and enjoyed by the house of Brandenburg, 376.

R

Ratisbon, a conference between a deputation of Protestant and Catholic divines, before the Emperor and diet there, III. 226. This conference how rendered fruitless, 229. A diet opened there by the Emperor, 347.

I N D E X.

The Catholic members of, assert the authority of the council of Trent, 348. The Protestants present a memorial against it, 350. The Protestant deputies retire, 352.

Reformation in religion, the rise of, explained, II. 113.

The diet at Worms called by Charles V. to check the progress of, *ib.* Account of Martin Luther, the Reformer, 119. Beginning of, in Switzerland by Zuinglius, 137. State of, in Germany, at the arrival of Charles V. 141. Reflection on the conduct of the court of Rome toward Luther, 142. And on Luther's conduct, 144. Inquiry into the causes which contributed to the progress of, 147. Observations on the pontificate of Alexander VI. and Julius II. 149. The immoral lives of the Romish clergy, 150. The progress of, favoured by the invention of printing, 168. And the revival of learning, 169. The great progress of, in Germany, 295. Advantages derived to, from the diet at Nuremberg, 301. Its tendency in favour of civil liberty, 368. The dissensions between the Emperor and the Pope, favourable to, 411. The great spread of, among the German Princes, III. 44. The confession of Augs-
burgh drawn up by Melancthon, 51. Causes which led to that of England, 72. The excesses it gave rise to, 76. See *Protestants*, *Maurice*, and *Smalkalde*. Is established in Saxony, 180. The great alteration occasioned by, in the court of Rome, IV. 356. Contributed to improve both the morals and learning of the Romish church, 361.

Reggio, invested by the French, who are repulsed by the governor Guicciardini the historian, II. 203. Plundered and burnt by Barbarossa, III. 272.

Religion, how corrupted by the northern nations established in Europe under the feudal policy, I. 22. Its influence in freeing mankind from the feudal servitude, 322.

Remonstrance of grievances drawn up by the Holy Junta, the particulars of, II. 238. Remarks on, 242.

Repledging, the right of, in the law of Scotland, explained, I. 267.

I N D E X.

Reproach, words of, the ancient Swedish law of satisfaction for, I. 350.

Revenues, royal, very small under the feudal policy, I. 102. By what means increased, 138.

Reverse, a deed so called, signed by the archduke Ferdinand on being elected King of Bohemia, II. 410.

Rhine, origin and intention of the league of, I. 347.

Rhodes, the island of, besieged by Solyman the Magnificent, II. 220. Taken by him, 222. The island of Malta granted to the knights of, by the Emperor Charles V. *ib.*

Richelieu, Cardinal, his remarks on De Retz's history of Fiesco's conspiracy, III. 416. *Note.*

Rienzo, Nicholas, endeavours to rescue Rome from the Papal authority, and establish a democratical form of government there, I. 153.

Rincon, the French ambassador at the Porte, the motives of his return to France, III. 252. Is murdered in his journey back to Constantinople, by order of the Imperial governor of the Milanese, 253.

Robbers, the anathema pronounced against them during the middle ages, I. 398.

Rodulph of Hapsburgh, how he attained the election to the Empire of Germany, I. 212.

Romans, an inquiry into those advantages which enabled them to conquer the rest of Europe, I. 2. The improvements they communicated in return for their conquests, *ibid.* The disadvantages the provinces laboured under, from their dominion, 3. Their Empire overturned by the irruption of the barbarous nations, 4. The concurrent causes of their ruin, 6. A comparison drawn between them and the northern nations, 9. All the civil arts established by them obliterated, 21. The monuments of their arts industriously destroyed by their barbarous invaders, 86.

Rome, reflections on the conduct of the court of, respecting the proceedings against Martin Luther, II. 143.

I N D E X.

The exorbitant wealth of the church of, previous to the Reformation, 154. Venality of, 165. How it drained other countries of their wealth, *ib.* The city seized by Cardinal Colonna, and Pope Clement VII. besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, 389. The city taken by the Imperialists, and Bourbon killed, *ib.* Is plundered, *ib.* The great revolution in the court of, during the sixteenth century, III. 354. How affected by the Revolt of Luther, 355. The spirit of its government changed by, 359.

Ronquillo, sent by Cardinal Adrian with troops to suppress the insurrection in Segovia, II. 227. Is routed by the insurgents, *ib.*

Rovere, Francesco Maria de, restored to his duchy of Urbino by Pope Adrian, II. 270.

Roxalana, a Russian captive, becomes the favourite mistress of Sultan Solyman the magnificent, IV. 142. Her only daughter married to Rustan the Grand Vizier, 143. Procures herself to be declared a free woman by the Sultan, 144. Is formally married to him, 145. Renders Solyman jealous of the virtues of his son Mustapha, 146. Mustapha strangled, 151.

Royal truce, an account of, I. 339.

Rustan, Grand Vizier to Solyman the Magnificent, is married to his daughter by Roxalana, IV. 143. Enters into Roxalana's scheme to ruin Solyman's son Mustapha, *ib.* Is sent with an army to destroy him. 149. Draws Solyman to the army by false reports, *ib.*

S

Salamanca, treaty of, between Ferdinand of Aragon, and his son-in-law Philip, II. 15.

Salerna, Prince of, heads the disaffected Neapolitans, against the oppressions of the viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo, IV. 127. Solicits aid from Henry II. of France, who instigates the Turks to invade Naples, *ib.*

Salic laws, the manner in which they were enacted, I. 432.

Saluces

I N D E X.

Salucès, marquis de, succeeds Lautrec in the command of the French army before Naples, III. 24. Retires to Averfa, where he is taken prisoner by the Prince of Orange, *ib.* Betrays his charge in Piedmont, 141.

Sancerre, count de, defends St. Disier, against the Emperor Charles, III. 294. Is deceived into a surrender by the Cardinal Granvelle, 297.

Sauvage, a Fleming, made chancellor of Castile by Charles, on the death of Ximenes, II. 64. His extortions, *ib.*

Savona, is fortified, and its harbour cleared by the French, to favour its rivalship with Genoa, III. 21.

Savoy, Charles Duke of, marries Beatrix of Portugal, sister to the Emperor Charles V. III. 123. The cause of Francis's displeasure against him, *ib.* His territories over-run by the French troops, 124. Geneva recovers its liberty, 125. His situation by the truce at Nice, between the Emperor and Francis, 163. Is besieged at Nice, by the French and Turks, III. 273.

—— Emanuel Philibert Duke of, appointed by Philip of Spain to command his army in the Low Countries, IV. 269. Invests St. Quintin, 270. Defeats D'Andelot in an endeavour to join the garrison, 273. But does not hinder him from entering the town, *ib.* Defeats the Constable Montmorency, and takes him prisoner, 274. Is graciously visited in the camp by Philip, 277. Takes St. Quintin by assault, 279. Assists Montmorency in negotiating peace between Philip and Henry, 310. Marries Henry's sister Elizabeth, 331. 334.

Saxons, why so many traces of their laws, language and customs to be found in England, I. 236, *Note iv.* Inquiry into their laws for putting an end to private wars, 342.

Saxony, Elector of, appointed joint commander of the army of the Protestant league, with the Landgrave of Hesse, III. 371. Their characters compared, *ib.* Opposes the Landgrave's intention of giving battle to the Emperor, 376. His electorate seized by Maurice, 388.

I N D E X

The army of the league disperse, 391. Recovers Saxony, 396. Is amused by Maurice with a negociation, 397. Raises an army to defend himself against the Emperor, 432. Is irresolute in his measures, 433. Charles passes the Elbe, 434. Is attacked by the Imperialists, 438. Is taken prisoner and harshly received by the Emperor, 439. Is condemned to death by a court martial, 443. His resolution on the occasion, 445. Is induced by regard to his family to surrender his electorate, 447. Refuses the Emperor's desire of his approving the *Interim*, 488. The rigour of his confinement increased, 489. Is carried by the Emperor with him into the Netherlands, 494. Is released by the Emperor on Maurice's taking arms against him, but chooses to continue with the Emperor, IV. 82. Obtains his liberty after the treaty of Passau, 109.

Saxony, George Duke of, an enemy to the Reformation, *ib.* The Protestant religion established by Henry Duke of, 180. Henry is succeeded by his son Maurice, 275. His motives for not acceding to the league of Smalkalde, *ib.* Marches to the assistance of Ferdinand in Hungary, 276. Joins the Emperor against the Protestants, 364, 383. See *Maurice*.

Schertel, Sebastian, a commander in the army of the Protestant league, his vigorous commencement of hostilities, III. 369. Is injudiciously recalled, 370. Is expelled from Augsburgh on the dispersion of the Protestant army, 393.

Science, the revival and progress of, how far instrumental in civilizing the nations of Europe, I. 87. A summary view of the revival and progress of, in Europe, 387, Note xxviii.

Scotland, James V. of, married to Mary of Guise, dutchess-dowager of Longueville, III. 171. Death of James and accession of his infant daughter Mary, 264. Mary contracted to the Dauphin of France, 474. The marriage celebrated, IV. 300. Mary assumes the title and arms of England on the death of Mary of England,

I N D E X.

325. Included in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, 330.
 Alteration in the conduct of England toward, 353.
- Sects* in religion, reflections on the origin of, III. 76.
- Segovia*, an insurrection there, on account of their representative Tordesillas voting for the donative to Charles V. III. 225. He is killed by the populace, *ib.* The insurgents there defeat Ronquillo, sent to suppress them by Cardinal Adrian, 227. Surrenders after the battle of Villalar, 258.
- Selim* II. Sultan, extirpates the Mamalukes, and adds Egypt and Syria to his empire, II. 72. Considered as formidable to the European powers, *ib.*
- Sforza*, Francis, the foundation of his pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, I. 170. Is murdered by his uncle Ludovico, *ibid.*
- Sforza*, Ludovico, his private views in engaging Charles VIII. of France to invade Italy, I. 129. Murders his nephew Francis, and seizes Milan, 170. Is stripped of his dominions by Louis XII. of France, and dies in prison, 171.
- Sforza*, obtains of Charles V. the investiture of Milan, II. 343. Forfeits the dutchy, by his intrigues with Morone, 348. Joins in a league against Charles for the recovery of Milan, 179. Is forced to surrender Milan to the Imperialists, 386. Obtains again of the Emperor the investiture of Milan, III. 42. Enters into a private treaty with Francis, 116. Merveille Francis's envoy executed for murder, 117. Dies, 129.
- Shipwrecks*, the right, lords of manors claim to, whence derived, I. 395.
- Siena*, the inhabitants of, implore the assistance of the Emperor Charles V. to defend them against their nobles, IV. 124. The Imperial troops endeavour to enslave them, *ib.* Regain possession of their city, 126. Repulse an attack of the Germans, 140. Are besieged by the marquis de Marignano, 176. The commander Monluc repulses the assaults vigorously, 177. The town reduced by famine, 178. Numbers of the citi-

I N D E X

zens retire, and establish a free government at Monte Alcino, 179. The remaining citizens oppressed, 180. And flock to Monte Alcino, *ib.* Is granted by the Emperor to his son Philip, 181. The investiture given by Philip to Cosmo di Medici, 288.

Sieverhausen, battle of, between Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg, IV. 132.

Silk, the rarity of, and the high price it bore in ancient Rome, remarked, I. 399. The breeding of silk worms, when introduced into Greece, 400.

Sion, Cardinal of, his scheme for weakening the French army in the Milanese, II. 207. Leaves the Imperial army to attend the conclave on the death of Leo X. 210.

Slaves, letters of, in the law of Scotland, what, I. 362,

Slaves, under the feudal policy, their wretched state, I. 270. Oblati, or voluntary slaves, the several classes of, 325.

Smalkalde, the Protestants enter into a league there, for their mutual support, III. 54. The league renewed at a second meeting there, 57. The league of, renewed for ten years, 95. A manifesto, refusing to acknowledge a council called by the Pope, 174. The king of Denmark joins the league, 177. The Princes of, protest against the authority of the Imperial chamber, and the recess of the diet at Nuremberg, 281. Publish a manifesto against the proceedings of the council at Trent, 327. Are alarmed at the proceedings of the Emperor, *ib.* A want of unity among the members, 329. The views of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave, explained, *ib.* Appear at the diet of Ratisbon by deputies, 348. Their deputies protest against the council of Trent, 359. Their deputies, alarmed at the Emperor's proceedings and declarations, leave the diet, 352. The Emperor leagues with the Pope against them, 353. Prepare to resist the Emperor, 358. Are disappointed in their application to the Venetians and Swiss, 359. As also with Henry VIII. and Francis, 361. Assemble

I N D E X.

a large army, 363. Are put under the ban of the Empire, 367. Declare war against the Emperor, 368. Hostilities begun by Schertel, 369. They recal him, 370. The Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse appointed joint commanders of their army, 371. The characters of the two commanders compared, *ib.* Their operations distracted by this joint command, 372. Cannonade the Emperor's camp, 377. Make overtures of peace to the Emperor, 390. Their army disperse, 391. The Elector of Saxony reduced, 429. The Landgrave deceived and confined, 455. Their warlike stores seized by the Emperor, 462. See *Maurice*.

Society, civil, the rude state of, under the feudal establishments after the downfall of the Roman Empire, I. 21. The influence of the Crusades on, 30. How improved by the establishment of municipal communities, 35. The effects the enfranchisements of the people had on, 49. Private wars how destructive to, 53. These intestine hostilities, how suppressed, 54. The administration of justice improved by the prohibition of judicial combats, 56. The growth of royal courts of justice, in opposition to the barons courts, 71. How advanced by the revival of the Roman law, 78. The effects of the spirit of chivalry in improving, 82. The revival of commerce and its influences, 93.

Solyman the Magnificent, his character, I. 228. ascends the Ottoman throne, II. 112. Invades Hungary and takes Belgrade, 220. Takes the island of Rhodes, *ib.* Defeats the Hungarians at Mohacz, 409. His successes, and the number of prisoners he carried away, 410. Besieges Vienna, III. 41. Enters Hungary again with a vast army, but is forced to retire by the Emperor Charles, 63. Takes Barbarossa the pirate under his protection, 100. Concludes an alliance with Francis King of France, 158. Prepares to invade Naples, *ib.* Protects Stephen King of Hungary, and defeats Ferdinand, 235. Seizes Hungary for himself, 236.

I N D E X.

Over-runs Hungary again, in fulfilment of his treaty with Francis, 272. Concludes a truce with the Emperor, 346. Loses Transylvania, IV. 55. Ravages the coasts of Italy, 95, 128. Carries a mighty army into Hungary, 97. Re-establishes Isabella and her son in Transylvania, 141. His violent attachment to his concubine Roxalana, 142. Is prevailed on to declare her a free woman, 144. Formally marries her, 145. Is rendered jealous of the virtues of his son Mustapha, by the arts of Roxalana, 147. Orders him to be strangled, 151. Orders the murder of Mustapha's son, 155.

Spain, a summary view of its situation, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, I. 86. The power of the crown of, how extended by Ferdinand, 123. National infantry established in, 138. Is conquered by the Vandals, 172. and after by the Moors, 173. The empire of the Moors in, how weakened, 174. Rise of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, 175. Their union into the Spanish monarchy, *ibid.* The ancient customs still retained amidst all its revolutions, *ib.* Peculiarities in its constitution and laws remarked, 177. See *Aragon* and *Castile*. Various causes which contributed to limit the regal power in, 186. The cities of, how they attained their consideration and power, 188. The schemes of Ferdinand and Isabella, to exalt the regal power, 191. The grand masterships of the three orders, annexed to the crown, 192. The association of the *Holy Brotherhood*, on what occasion formed, 195. The tendency of this association to abridge the territorial jurisdictions of the barons, *ib.* The cruel devastations made by the Vandals, in the invasion of that province, 237. When the cities of, acquired municipal privileges, 315, *Note xviii.* The long continuance of the practice of private wars there, 344. The total annual revenue of the nobility, in the time of Charles V. 422. An inquiry into the origin of communities or free cities in, 423. The state of, at the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, II. 33. Charles king of, aspires to the Imperial crown on the

I N D E X.

- death of Maximilian, 70. Is elected Emperor, 85. Reflections of the Spaniards on that event, 88. Charles appoints viceroys, and departs for Germany, 95. Insurrections there, 224. A view of the feudal system in, 230. An account of the confederacy, termed the Holy Junta, 232. Causes which prevented an union of the malcontents in the respective provinces, 267. The moderation of Charles toward them on his arrival, 268. Instance of the haughty spirit of the grandees, III. 185. Is invaded by the Dauphin, 258. The dominions of, resigned by Charles to his son Philip IV. 235. The arrival of Charles, and his reception there, 257. The place of his retreat described, 259. The regal power in, how enlarged by Charles, 340. The foreign acquisitions added to, 341. See *Aragon, Castile, Galicia, Valencia, Cortes, Germanada*, and *Holy Junta*.
- Spires*, diet of, its proceedings relative to the Reformation, II. 412. Another diet called there by the Emperor, III, 46. Another diet at, 281. Recess of, in favour of the Protestants, 285.
- Spiritual* censures of the Romish church, the dreadful effects of, II. 159.
- St. Disier*, in Champagne, invested by the Emperor, III. 294. Is obtained by the artifice of Cardinal Granvelle, 297.
- St. Jago*, the military order of, when and on what occasion instituted, I. 425, *Note xxxvi*.
- St. Justus*, monastery of, in Plazencia, is chosen by the Emperor Charles V. for his retreat after his resignation, IV. 259. His situation described, *ib*. His appartments, *ib*.
- St. Quintin*, invested by the Spanish troops, and defended by admiral Coligni, IV. 270. D'Andelot defeated in an endeavour to join the garrison, 272. But enters the town, 273. Montmorency defeated by the duke of Savoy, *ib*. The town taken by assault, 279.
- Standing* armies. See *Armies*, and *War*.
- States* general of France, causes which rendered their authority imperfect, I. 199. When they lost their

I N D E X.

- legislative authority, *ib.* When first assembled, 447.
 The form of proceeding in them, *ib.*
- Stephen* earl of Chartres and Blois, his account of the progress of the Crusaders, I. 289.
- Stiernhöök*, his account of the ancient Swedish law of satisfaction for words of reproach, I. 350.
- Strangers*, in what light considered, and how treated during the middle ages, and under the feudal policy, I. 394.
- Strozzi*, Peter, some account of, IV. 173. Is intrusted with the command of the French army in Italy, *ib.* Is defeated by the marquis de Marignano, 176.
- Suabia*, an insurrection of the peasants against the nobles there, II. 366. They publish a memorial of their grievances, *ib.* The insurgents dispersed, 367. The Protestant religion suppressed there by the Emperor Charles V. IV. 39.
- Suffolk*, duke of, invades Picardy, penetrates almost to Paris, but is driven back, II. 287.
- Sugar-canes*, when first brought from Asia into Europe, and thence carried to America, I. 400.
- Sultans*, Turkish, their despotick power, I. 225. How nevertheless limited, 226.
- Superstition*, its influence in the legal proceedings during the middle ages, I. 60.
- Surrey*, earl of, created high admiral to the Emperor Charles V. II. 218. Obligated to retire out of Picardy by the Duke de Vendome, 219.
- Sweden*, a summary view of the revolutions in, during the sixteenth century, IV. 370, 371.
- Swiss*, the superior discipline of their troops, in the fifteenth century, I. 136. Teach other nations the advantages of infantry over cavalry, *ib.*
- Switzerland*, the Cantons of, espouse the pretensions of Charles V. to the Imperial crown, II. 76. Commencement of the Reformation there by Zuinglius, 137. The regulation under which they hire out their troops, 207. The precipitate battle, insisted on by their troops under Lautrec, lost, 214.
- Syria*, how and by whom added to the Ottoman empire, II. 72.

I N D E X.

T.

Tacitus, his account of the ancient Germans compared with that of Cæsar, I. 246.

Tenures, feudal, the origin of, I. 17. See *Feudal System*, and *Land*.

Termes, marshal de, governor of Calais, takes Dunkirk by storm, IV. 302. Engages the count of Egmont, and is defeated by the accidental arrival of an English squadron on the coast, 303. Is taken prisoner, 304.

Terrouane, taken and demolished by the Emperor Charles V. IV. 138.

Tetzel, a Dominican friar, his shameful conduct in the sale of Indulgences in Germany, II. 116. His form of absolution, and recommendation of the virtues of Indulgences, *ib.* *Note.* His debauched course of life, 119. Publishes theses against Luther, 124.

Teutonic order, a character of, II. 374. Conquer the province of Prussia, 375. Their grand master Albert made duke of Prussia, 376.

Theatines, the order of, by whom founded, IV. 211.

Theology, scholastick, the first literary pursuits at the revival of learning in Europe, I. 88.

Thionville, in Luxemburgh, taken by the Duke of Guise, IV. 302.

Thuringia, an insurrection of the peasants there, against the nobility, II. 368. The fanatical notions inspired into them by Thomas Muncer, 370. Their disorderly army defeated, 372.

Toledo, insurrection in, at the departure of Charles V. for Germany, II. 96. 224. The cathedral of, stripped of its riches to support the army of the Holy Junta, 249. Padillo's letter to, at his execution, 256. Is instigated to continue in arms by Padilla's wife, 259. Is reduced, 261.

Toledo, Ludovico de, nephew to Cosmo di Medici, sent by his uncle to negotiate with Philip II. of Spain, for the investiture of Siena, IV. 287.

I N D E X.

Toledo, Don Pedro de, viceroy of Naples, oppresses the Neapolitans, IV. 127. And occasions the Turks to ravage the coasts of Naples, *ib.*

Toleration, reflections on the progress of, in Germany, IV. 201. Why mutually allowed among the ancient Heathens, 202. How the primitive Christians became averse to, *ib.*

Tomorri, Paul, a Franciscan monk, archbishop of Gollocza, is made general of the Hungarian army against Solyman the Magnificent, and is defeated by him, II. 409.

Tordesillas, the residence of Queen Joanna, the confederacy of malcontents called the Holy Junta, removed thither, II. 234. The Queen taken there by the Conde de Haro, 247.

— one of the representatives of Segovia, killed by the populace for voting the donative to Charles V. at the Cortes assembled in Galicia, II. 226.

Transylvania, is surrendered to Ferdinand King of the Romans, by Queen Isabella, IV. 55.

Tremouille, La, drives the English under the duke of Suffolk out of Picardy, II. 287.

Trent, the council of, summoned, III. 278. Prorogued, 279. Again summoned, 310. Is opened, 324. Declares the apocryphal scriptures canonical, 342. Establishes the authority of the church traditions, *ib.* The council, on rumours of an infection in the city, is translated to Bologna, 469. Henry II. of France protests against the council, IV. 36. The council breaks up on the approach of Maurice of Saxony, 82. Historical remarks on this council, 83. Characters of its historians, 85.

Trent, Cardinal of, sent by the Emperor Charles V. to conclude an alliance with the Pope, III. 351. The nature of this treaty, 352.

Truce of God, an account of, I. 336.

Tunis, the means of its coming under the power of Barbarossa, traced, III. 101. The Emperor and other Christian powers unite to expel Barbarossa, and restore

I N D E X.

Muley Hascen, 105. Is taken by the Emperor, 111.
 Muley Hascen restored, and his treaty with Charles, 112.
Turkey, origin of its government, I. 223. The des-
 potick genius of this government, 224. No hereditary
 nobility in, *ib.* The authority of the Sultans, how
 checked, 226. Origin of the Janizaries, *ib.* Becomes
 formidable to the Christian Princes, 229.
Tuscany, a review of the state of, during the sixteenth
 century, IV. 367.

V.

Valencia, an insurrection in, II. 90. The people there
 greatly oppressed by the nobles, *ib.* The nobles refuse
 to assemble the Cortes except the King is present, 91.
 Charles authorises the people to continue in arms, *ib.*
 They expel the nobles, 92. Associate under the *Ger-*
manada, and appoint their own magistrates, *ib.* Don
 Diego de Mendoza, Conde de Melito, appointed regent,
 on the departure of Charles for Germany, 95. The
 Germanada refuse to lay down their arms, 263. De-
 feat the nobles in several actions, 265. Are at length
 routed by the Conde de Melito, *ib.* The moderation
 of Charles toward the insurgents on his arrival, 268,
Valentinois, Dutcheffs of. See *Diana of Poitiers*.
Valladolid, the first public entry of Charles V. into that
 city, II. 62. The inhabitants rise, burn Fonseca's
 house, and fortify the town, II. 229. Surrenders after
 the battle of Villalar, and dissolution of the Holy
 Junta, 258.
Vandals, their cruel devastations in the invasion of Spain,
 I. 238. The havock made by them in Africa, 239.
 See *Goths*.
Vassals under the feudal system, a view of their slavish
 condition, I. 19. 46. How they obtained enfranchise-
 ment, 47. How anciently distinguished from freemen,
 258. Their wretched state under their feudal masters,
 270, Note ix.

I N D E X.

Vaucelles, treaty of, between Charles V. and Henry II. of France, IV. 238.

Vendome, duke of, his plan of operations in opposing the progress of the invasion of Picardy by Henry VIII. II. 219. Obliges him to retire, *ib.*

Venice, the republic of, the long duration of its civil constitution, and its flourishing state at the time of the league of Cambray, I. 140. Its possessions dismembered by the confederates, 141. Dissolves the confederacy, 142. Its rise and progress, 159. Defects in its constitution, 160. The excellency of its naval institutions, 161. Its extensive commerce, 162. Inclines in favour of the pretensions of Francis I. of France, to the Imperial crown, II. 76. Their views and apprehensions on the approaching rupture between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis, 101. Leagues with the Emperor against Francis, 272. A final accommodation between, and the Emperor, III. 42. Refuses to enter into the league of the Italian states, formed by the Emperor, 67. A review of the state of that republic during the sixteenth century, IV. 365.

Verrina, the confidant of the Count of Lavagno, encourages him in his scheme of overturning the government of Genoa, III. 404. Is protected by Francis on the ruin of that conspiracy, 424.

Vielleville, the French governor of Metz, detects Father Leonard's conspiracy to betray the city to the Imperialists, IV. 187. Executes the conspirators, 189.

Vienna, is besieged by Sultan Solymán the Magnificent, III. 41.

Villalar, battle of, between Padilla and the Conde de Haro, II. 254.

Villena, marquis de, his spirited reply to the request of the Emperor to lodge Bourbon in his palace, II. 252.

Visconti, rise of the family of, in Milan, I. 169.

Ulm, the government of that city violently altered, and its reformed ministers carried away in chains, by the Emperor Charles V. III. 492.

I N D E X.

Union of the Aragonese nobles to control the undue exercise of regal power, explained, I. 414. This privilege abrogated by Peter IV. 416.

United Provinces of the Netherlands, a brief view of their revolt against the dominion of Spain, IV. 369.

Universities, the first establishment of, in Europe, I. 389.

Urbino, restored by Pope Adrian to Francesco Maria de Rovere, II. 270.

W

Wallop, Sir John, joins the Emperor Charles V. at the siege of Landrecy, with a body of English troops, III. 271.

War, a comparison between the manner of carrying on, by barbarous and by civilized nations, I. 10. How rendered feeble in its operations by the feudal policy, 19. The profession of arms, the most honourable in uncivilized nations, 80. The rise of standing armies traced, 110. By what means standing forces became general, 134. The superiority of infantry in, how taught, 135. The method of carrying on in Europe, how improved at this period from the practice of earlier ages, II. 285. General reflections on the vicissitudes of, IV. 336.

Wars, private, for the redressing personal injuries, under the feudal policy, an inquiry into, I. 61. Methods taken to abolish this hostile practice, 54. Judicial combat prohibited, 56. Inquiry into the sources of these customs, 328, *Note* xxi. Who entitled to the privileges of exercising, 329. On what occasions undertaken, 330. Who included, or bound to engage in these disputes, 331. Who excluded from undertaking, 332. The cruel manner of prosecuting them, *ib.* A chronological account of the expedients made use of, to suppress them, 333. *Truce of God*, an account of, 336. *Brotherhood of God*, an account of, 338. *Royal truce*, what, 339. Saxon laws of

I N D E X.

- England, for putting an end to them, 342. The obstinate attachment of the Spaniards to this practice, 344. The calamities occasioned in Germany by, 346.
- Wartburgh*, Martin Luther concealed there by the Elector of Saxony, II. 180.
- Welsh*, ancient, strangers killed with impunity by them, I. 396.
- Wentworth*, Lord, governor of Calais, remonstrates in vain with the English privy-council to provide for its security, IV. 292. Is attacked by the Duke of Guise, and forced to capitulate, 294.
- Willa*, widow of duke Hugo, extract from her charter of manumission, granted to Cleriza, one of her slaves, I. 323.
- Willermus* archbishop of Tyre, his account of Constantinople, I. 293.
- Wittemberg*, invested by the Emperor Charles V. and defended by Sibilla of Cleves, wife to the Elector of Saxony, III. 441.
- Wittikindus*, abbot, his testimony in favour of the judicial combat, I. 357.
- Wolsey*, Cardinal, his rise, character, and influence over Henry VIII. of England, II. 104. Receives a pension from Francis I. of France, 106. And from the Emperor Charles V. *ib.* Detached from the French interest by the latter, 108. Inclines Henry to join the Emperor against Francis, 185. Sent by Henry to Calais, to negotiate an accommodation between the Emperor and Francis, 197. Has an interview with Charles at Bruges, and concludes a league with him on the part of Henry, against France, 199. Meditates revenge against Charles on his second disappointment of the Papacy by the election of Clement VII. 284. Obtains of Clement a legantine commission in England for life, *ib.* Negotiates a league with Francis against the Emperor, III. 3.
- Worms*, a diet called there by Charles V. to check the progress of the Reformers, II. 113. Proceedings of, 176. Martin Luther cited before it, 177. Refuses to retract his opinions, 178. An edict published against him, 179. Diet at, opened, III. 311.

I N D E X.

Wurtemberg, Ulric Duke of, why expelled his dominions, III. 91. Recovers his dominions by the assistance of Francis King of France, and receives the Protestant religion, 92.

Wyat, Sir Thomas, raises an insurrection in Kent against Queen Mary of England, on account of the Spanish match, IV. 159. Is subdued and punished, 160.

X.

Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, adheres to Ferdinand of Aragon, in his dispute with the archduke Philip concerning the regency of Castile, II. 12. Espouses Ferdinand's claim to the regency of Castile on Philip's death, 24. Conquers Oran, and other places in Barbary, for the crown of Castile, 25. Appointed regent of Castile, by Ferdinand's will, until the arrival of Charles V. in Spain, 35. His rise and character, *ib.* Admits the claim to the regency of Cardinal Adrian, sent with that commission by Charles, and executes it jointly with him, 38. Takes the infant Don Ferdinand to Madrid under his own eye, 39. Procures Charles, who assumed the regal title, to be acknowledged by the Castilian nobility, 41. Schemes to extend the regal prerogative, 42. Depresses the nobility, 43. Frees the King from the Feudal limitations, and establishes a regal army to check the Barons, 44. Suppresses a mutiny headed by the grandees, 45. Resumes the grants of Ferdinand to his nobles, 46. His prudent application of the revenue, 47. His bold assertion of his authority to the discontented nobles, 48. Other associates in the regency appointed at the instigation of the Flemish courtiers, 49. Retains the superior management, 50. Defeats John D'Albert's invasion of Navarre, *ib.* Dismantles all the castles there, except Pampeluna, which he strengthens, 51. The troops sent by him against Barbarossa defeated, and his equanimity on that occasion, 52.

I N D E X.

Alarmed at the corruption of the Flemish court, he persuades Charles to visit Spain, 53. Falls sick on his journey to meet Charles at his arrival, 59. His letter of counsel to Charles, *ib.* Requests an interview, 60. The ingratitude of Charles to him, *ib.* His death, 61. His character, *ib.* Reverence paid to his memory by the Spaniards, *ib.*

Z.

Zamora, bishop of, raises a regiment of priests to defend Tordefillas, for the Holy Junta, which is forced by the Conde de Haro, II. 247.

Zuinglius, attacks the sale of Indulgences at Zurich in Switzerland, II. 137.

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